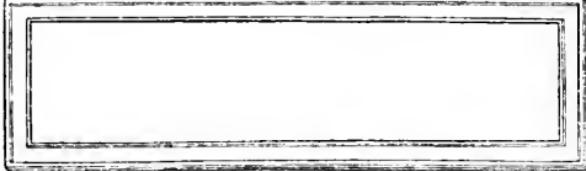
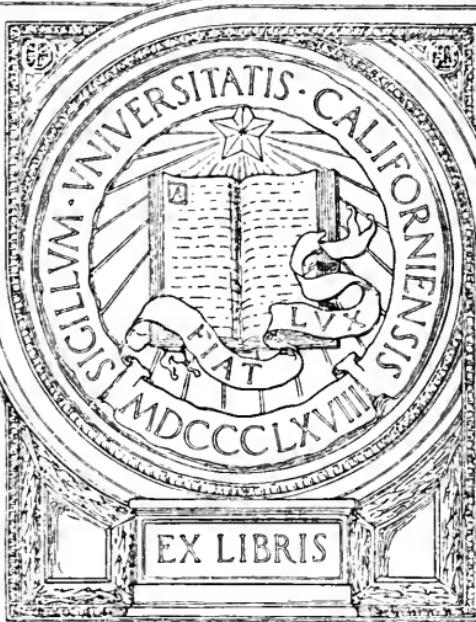


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THE
GREAT AND IMPORTANT
DISCOVERY
OF THE
EIGHTEENTH CENTURY,
AND THE MEANS OF SETTING RIGHT THE
NATIONAL AFFAIRS,
BY A
Great Addition of numerous and inestimable useful Designs
and Public Improvements, by which the Nation is still
capable of being infinitely benefited ;
TO WHICH ARE ADDED
A D D R E S S E S
TO THE SEVERAL DIFFERENT
C L A S S E S O F S O C I E T Y,

Pointing out the Measures, which they ought to pursue as their
respective Duties, in redressing Public Affairs.

By GEORGE EDWARDS, Esq. M. D.

Author of the Aggrandisement of Great Britain ; of the
National Perfection of Finance ; and of the Royal
Regeneration of Great Britain.

L O N D O N:

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TO THE
RIGHT HONOURABLE AND HONOURABLE
THE
L O R D S,
AND THE
REPRESENTATIVES
OF THE
COMMONS OF GREAT BRITAIN.

AUG 26 1838

HARDING

MY LORDS AND GENTLEMEN,

AT a Time when Plans and Projects of Reform are proposed in every Part of Europe, I hope it will not be deemed presumptuous in an Englishman, who has devoted the greater Portion of his Life to Political and National Improvements, to offer the following Work to your Consideration, and to express his Hope,

(1838)

that

that the Hints and Proposals he has stated,
may be rendered matters of Parliamentary
Attention.

I have the honour to be,

My LORDS and GENTLEMEN,

Your most obedient,

And most humble Servant,

GEORGE EDWARDS.

Southwark,

June 1, 1791.

C H A P. I.

THE subject, which occupies the following pages, is the consideration of the state of society in general; the means of its possible perfection, and the mode of redressing public affairs. It is meant as a practical work; the objects of it to be accomplished by the happy exertions of ingenuity, as aided by the unremitting perseverance of industrious and spirited activity. The vast and comprehensive system, which comprises the means of the public welfare, and which the Author would present to the reader, he hopes may consist of practical ideas. In this light it stands contrasted to all the wild imaginations, and the unimportant speculations of theory and recluse literature. In this light the author wishes the system to be viewed; not having the ambition to rank it among the proposals of men of great parts and abilities, whose genius has not been versed and rendered execu-

tive in the hardy fields of active improvement, and in frequent exploits of numerous efficient achievements ; who have therefore seldom ascertained and pointed out the adequate means of accomplishing their proposals, but have brought them forward as problems, not calculated for the meridian of extensive national service. The tendency of the system is also in opposition to the practice and conduct of the governments of the different states and kingdoms of the world. For in their public proceedings, with professed intentions to promote public welfare, such governments generally, in the most insidious manner, devise public and private calamity ; or, exteriourly, substitute pomp and magnificence, fallacious arts, and patriotic declarations, for the real happiness of society. Neither does such a view of society and of its advancement and improvement in all its different relations, as we propose to offer, solely respect the welfare of the British citizen : it applies alike to human nature ; it is equally important to all mankind, and reaching farther than the horizon of an empire, interests the whole world without partiality or limitation, as the sun illuminates and invigorates every clime.

What we first observe is, that society, as the state in which man lives, is not immediately instituted and formed by Providence. The Deity only ordained in the origin of all sublunary things, that such a condition should be necessary for man,

he being created with dispositions requiring it. Thus Providence imposed on him as a law, that, by his own laborious efforts, he should provide himself with a state of society, the most proper and congenial to his nature, and the most conducive and efficient to his happiness. Many proofs of this, as being the Divine intention, may readily, but would superfluously be adduced ; for all parts of the wide world attest, that man universally lives in society, that by his own exertions he makes it what it is, and at his own will and pleasure constitutes it good or bad, happy or miserable.

It is no less manifest, for it is every where observable, that the terrestrial part of the universe has been created to receive, to promote, to produce, perfect, and embellish the grand design of human civilization ; otherwise the attempts of man, so far as they go, would not accomplish their purposes with such facility. In truth, it is the beneficent Creator, that has bowed the savage bull, who tills the earth, to the human yoke. Without the Divine interposition, the generous steed would dash the rider from his back by the rapidity of his course ; hurl him headlong down the precipice, or rush upon him prostrate, and in the triumph of nature trample him to death. Creation, as it were, presented the fleece to industry : creation, filled the pail of man with salubrious food, the most innocent repast of nature !

Proofs need not be offered, for it follows as a certain consequence of the Divine benevolence, that such a state of society, as God ordained, was destined to be adequate to the welfare and happiness of man, as a being perfectly formed and highly finished both in body and mind; was destined to supply man with all things, which his necessities and comfort require; and was destined to become perfect and complete through its whole extent, like Creation itself, so far as the state of society can be rendered such by the natural capacity or by the improved and elevated sublimity of human abilities. For it cannot, with the proper respect for human reason, be for a moment supposed: nay, it seems the rashness of impiety, to imagine the intention of the Almighty Creator originally was, that society, as the universal state and condition of man, should prove a weak, crude, inadequate, and imperfect institution; that he should be tormented with numerous desires, which were never intended to be satisfied; that he should labour under infinite and complicated miseries, which were never to be alleviated; that he should be for ever exposed to fatal dangers, and never find a systematic safeguard against them; that society should be oppressed at pleasure by a few, in whom pride and ignorance, accompanied with fortune or title, might engender an uncontrollable desire to exercise unbounded insolence and lawless oppression;

that

that society should, in its different proceedings, advance with a hobbling lameness, and not with the most graceful motions of a well-adjusted activity; that public welfare should turn and rock upon narrow unstable and insufficient foundations, and not be made a perfect fabric with strength and constancy of principle; that whole nations should be subjected, after short intervals, to the regular returns of the bloody ferocity and devastations of ambitious power, sacrificing many millions of citizens, in one general state of contention precipitated into headlong ruin, and overwhelming them in universal destruction. However, such a dreadful, enormous, and monstrous state of society is the present condition of the polished nations of Europe! Such is the much vaunted predicament of Great Britain itself, and of its extensive empire! The state of society in this country, as we shall hereafter show, however specious it may appear, is not only very inconsistent with the Divine intention to promote human welfare, and its advancement, perfection, and happiness, but is fatal to these purposes in infinite and innumerable respects. The majesty and splendour of the prosperity of Great Britain and its empire, when properly viewed, and truly understood, appears to the eye of political judgement not very different from the appearance of the fatal henbane, graceful in figure and flower, yet in all its pride, the penetrating Botanist may perceive it

full of malignity, and containing a hidden, dark, and gloomy poison.

Oh ! how different ! Oh ! how far distant in the widest extreme, is the state and condition of that society, which was ordained for man by Almighty God ? In favour of humanity, he has, with the most boundless and extended indulgence ordained, that society should be formed into a comprehensive, great, and elevated state of perfection ; and for this purpose he has committed to man the faculty of creation. How vast and universal are all the different departments of civilization ! Their boundaries and limits, even in the present advanced period of the world, have in no sense been approached by the various powers and industry of man. How far short of any degree of its proper practical perfection is the agriculture of every kingdom, although the means of human subsistence, although the price of provisions is risen so extraordinarily in the present times ? What a small portion of the golden circle of civilization has been trod by legislation itself, whose creative and operative powers, notwithstanding the great subsisting need and opportunity for the employment of them, are, unless in respect of common and unavoidable occurrences, altogether disused and suspended in this kingdom. The clamorous swarm, to whom the practice of it is committed, live upon the sweets, which the ancient civilization of former times has stored up, instead

instead of exploring nature to augment the stock ; instead of gathering from every productive source, all the possible means, which duly harvested complete the public welfare ; instead of hiving up these with rapturous industry in the treasure of the common weal.

In short, for the perfection of society were extended not only the unbounded views, which characterise the works of God, but the great attributes of infinite love, and of infinite benevolence : and man would every moment thank the hand that created him, for endless favours, and for numberless blessings, in addition to his present lot, if the managers and directors of society, that is, the governments of different nations, discharged the duties incumbent upon them : if they, under whose fostering care the subject ought to receive all the advantages of his destined happiness, sincerely exerted themselves in the cultivation and production of them for the benefit of society ; if they did not afflict their respective people with a vast immensity of miseries ; if they did not, by their continual intervention, snatch from them an amazing portion of the Divine favours, and the blessings destined for man.

Such was the foresight and care of Providence, lest the interests of society should be neglected, that even kings and parliaments, ministers and statesmen, which may appear hardly credible in

the present times ! have been often rendered the instruments of making happy all the different individuals who compose communities ; for men are so formed by nature, as to experience the highest satisfaction, and the most complete gratification in the delightful labour of promoting the public welfare ; they are by nature so constituted as in this manner to be ravished with the enjoyment of the dearest sensibility of the human breast, such as the successful physician finds in the benevolent practice of adequate professional skill ; such as the mother finds from the discomposure of her bosom by the sweet infant, whom she tenderly compresses within the arms of love. Surely then Providence has intended for a society of citizens, so worthy and deserving as Britons, a government ready to serve it from the pleasing motives and allurements, which accompany the practice of philanthropy and the efforts of patriotism. But is this credible, when we consider, as in the subsequent chapters we shall fully prove, how reverse, how opposite, how monstrously, how impiously adverse and contradictory to such a purpose, are the whole tenour of the poor, little, weak, daring, insolent, criminal, flagitious pursuits of modern governments ?

However, agreeably to the great, elevated, vast, sublime, and to man almost boundless designs ; agreeably to the most humane, most benevolent, most affectionate views, with which God has interested

terested himself, in destining society to be a state adequate to the welfare and happiness of man, he has endowed the latter with abilities both of body and mind, perfectly commensurate to the formation and completion of such a state of society ; whatever labour man must exert, in order to accomplish it ! with whatever difficulties and dangers he must struggle, in order to effect it ! whatever niceties and subtleties of thought he must devise ! whatever great and daring conceptions of mind he must indulge, in order to construct the important fabric ! Hence man was created with such powers, that he is able to attempt and to surmount the greatest of enterprises, even the seeming impossibilities of nature : only from a tree, which bears a small resemblance to a plank ; from a vegetable, which has no similitude to a sail ; from an ore, which does not possess any of the brilliancy, solidity, and hardness of iron, drawing his means, he ventures upon the wide and boundless waves of the ocean, braves all the dangers of the uncertain, unstable, ungovernable, and stormy elements of nature ; and transports to his home in his respective society, the choicest blessings of the most distant climes. Nay, merely by the aid of a little sand and salt, which he fabricates into glasses, with his weak eye he becomes a Newton, or a Herschel, most minutely and accurately measures the planetary system in all the various complicated and vast

progresses

progresses of its different incredible velocities, and gives time, as a blessing, to his fellow creatures.

Thus as in these, so in all the other numerous departments of civilization and public welfare, is man in an equal manner, nay in a much more liberal manner, provided with powers, means, and opportunities, adequate in the most full and complete measure and to the furthest extent of perfection; to give and impart to his several fellow creatures in society, all those infinite and inestimable stores of private happiness and public welfare, which the human race by nature were rendered capable and intended to enjoy; and whose lustre, nations, as the depots of them, were destined to exhibit in their respective tribes for the honour and glory of the Divinity.

Nay, upon such stable, solid, and unmoveable foundations does the public welfare of society depend! Nay, so clearly has this important object been delineated for the exploring eye of human discovery! Nay, in so careful an assemblage have the different departments of it been cemented and preserved, in order that the fabric might be formed complete! Nay, such firm and strong and effectual materials and powers for the perfection of the structure of public welfare, have been provided! That the public welfare of society unquestionably consists, and is comprised in a plain and easy, but a most

a most extensive and important system of twelve different practical sciences : to wit, 1st. Of government, or that superior part of the community, which is intrusted with great powers to render society equal in all respects to the Divine intention of its institution. 2dly. Of jurisprudence and the administration of law, which serves and protects individuals, by promoting and enforcing the due effects of the different ordinances of government. 3dly. Of the local arrangement and particular improvement of different provinces or countries : the arrangement being such, as divides dominions into those minute portions, which are most favourable to the adequate view and observation of the superior government ; and enable the latter effectually to advance their welfare, which advancement we therefore call *district improvement*. These arrangements at the same time are supposed to be serviceable for the purposes of all the inhabitants, that they may meet together, and transact to the greatest advantage their own affairs, as well as furnish information and instruction to those who have the management of the state. 4thly. Of different public agencies, such as those of parish officers, of the excise, of the customs, constituted according to the most commodious and suitable ordinances, to direct and conduct all the various concerns, which not by itself, but by efficacious substitutes, and at a distance, and through the whole

whole extent of society, government may deem expedient to enforce for the public good. 5thly. Of finance, or the means of providing a public revenue for the support of government, and for the execution of such measures, as government finds necessary to adopt and carry into effect for the welfare of the community. 6thly. Of mental civilization, or the means, which, according to their respective stations, impress and bestow such capacity and habits on the minds of the different individuals, who compose the community, as are most productive of the public welfare, and of private happiness. 7thly. Of religion; the several views and duties of which we reduce to three heads, first, to render proper reverence and gratitude on the part of the community to the Almighty; and to supplicate for the future divine grace, assistance, and indulgence: secondly, to read and expound to man his duty, as enjoined in the revelation of God, whether it proceed immediately from himself in the sacred writings, or is indirectly conveyed through his works in nature: thirdly, and in addition to other means recommended for the same purpose, through a separate and learned profession to serve the community, by impressing upon the hearts and minds of individuals, according to their stations of life, all the several modes of mental improvement and civilization above announced, as they are conducive and necessary to the public welfare, and to the

the private prosperity and happiness of individuals.

Eightly, Of medicine, or of the most effectual and adequate system for the preservation, and recovery of the health, when impaired, of the different individuals, of whatever station, who compose the community. 9thly. Of the national improvements, or the means of devising, executing, and conducting these in such a manner, as will most effectually promote the happiness and perfection of society. 10thly. Of commerce, or the means of enabling the different members of the community, to dispose both at home and abroad, with the greatest advantage, of their labours and fabrications, by which they purchase the comforts, or conveniences of life, and advance their fortunes. 11thly. Of politics, or the means, which reconciling the interests of different nations, preserve their peace, or render different nations of mutual service to one another. 12thly. Of war, offensive and defensive, as warranted by motives of justice and the public good.

These, twelve in number, are the practical sciences; in which the welfare of society consists; and in every respect they are adequate to the production and security of this great and important object. We announce them with authority, and speak of their services, efficacy, and certainty; because we have explored them with efforts not inferior

ferior to the Herculean labours. But that they afford the means of accomplishing and perfecting the splendid and happy state, which God destined for man in society, may fairly and unquestionably be deduced and established from truth and nature: and the system of public welfare, which they generate and complete, is so congenial to the intention of human existence, that its destination is not controvertible. Without the possession of the benefits, which flow from them, society is a wretched and destitute state, but in them enjoying all the celestial blessings, which were at the birth of creation ordained for human happiness, it is rich, perfect, and complete. From several of those sciences, it is well known, we have long derived great and immense benefits; these may nevertheless be much farther diffused and extended, or may be rendered considerably greater and more advantageous. From some of them, it is too true, as from those of finance and government, we suffer such distress, misery, and injury, as almost counterbalance those services and benefits; yet such bad effects can readily be remedied, and easily prevented. For even government, as we propose to improve and rectify it, will be changed and converted into a power of a very different nature and tendency, productive of felicities and blessings, hitherto unexpected as the portion of human nature and not thought of by man: it will not only smile upon, and visit greatness, or

majesty,

majesty, castles and palaces, but condescend to call upon and elevate humility, and make the cottage at least as happy as the throne.

It may indeed be fairly urged, that when we take a view of the state of society, as it exists in its modern forms, it cannot be imagined from its sorry appearance, that it was ordained to be perfect, as we have represented. But are the practical sciences, conducive to the public welfare, and which are the sole means of forming and constituting such a state, in any shape cultivated, or in any degree advanced to answer their purposes? How, therefore, is it possible such an effect can take place, or such a state exist? Does government, which is the proper and sole agent on the occasion, concern itself any farther with the advancement of those sciences, than as the needful supply of its own pressing necessities forcibly compels it? Do the great undaunted attempts of individuals in the improvement of any of those sciences, which respect not the embellishment, but the real welfare of a country, ever meet with approbation, or a smile from modern statesmen? Nay, are not these known to be the determined enemies of the improvements, which are necessary to establish a perfect state of real civilization?

To advance the public welfare and private happiness of society, by the sincere, ardent, and effectual cultivation and establishment of the proper means, which in themselves are arduous, and numerous, is

an attempt too expensive, too great and laborious, too painful and impracticable for individuals : and it has, with the universal consent of the several members of the community, at all times and in all ages, necessarily devolved upon government as a body, which from the authority given, and from the recompences made to it, is expected to fulfil this important trust with the most sacred fidelity. How unfortunately national confidence and public expectation are deluded and disappointed, we hardly need evince, when it is universally agreed, that all modern as well as many ancient governments, have acted in a manner the most reverse and opposite to the nature of their trust. They are incessantly employed in the practice of the deceitful arts of irresistible corruption, and boundless ambition, to effect the reverse of their duty and obligations to society ; and make communities the wretched slaves of high exalted power, and oppressive tyranny, or the victims of numberless taxes and wars : and instead of the cultivation of public welfare, or the introduction of the arts of peace, and the prevention of human miseries, their proceedings are such as increase the severities of punishments, their acts of civilization, such as the institutions of colonies to be peopled by transported criminals, which every day multiply, and find additional employment. Instead of the contemplation and actual study of the means of advan-

ing the public prosperity, which are essentially requisite for the purpose; instead of the construction of national and beneficent plans, which alone are capable of supplying society with adequate advantages, modern governments humbly and ingloriously content themselves with the acquisition of the baser arts of procuring interest, and with the increase of appointments to place and office; leaving far out of sight all public objects, as matters to be seldom seen, and never dwelt upon, situated at the extreme verge of the political horizon. They are ignorant, that their care and duty extend to a great practical system of humanity, which involves within it all useful philosophy, and is grounded upon the certainty of mathematical science; they do not even dream of a perfected civilization, though the idea contains and comprehends vast stores of blessings yet unexplored; though it includes the effectual means of setting right public affairs, and is the proper object of the attention of courts and cabinets. The vain arts of embellishments are substituted instead of the divine and natural system of practical political sciences: abstract positions and deductions are become the sole patriotic acquisitions of modern literature: the eloquent, not the benefactors of mankind, are exalted to direct and conduct the affairs of the greatest nations in the world.

All surprise ceases, therefore, on the contemplation of the imperfect state of modern society, which cannot possibly receive the improvements, and the lustre of progressive civilization and improving legislation, from the hands of statesmen, who are, in general, not less ignorant of them, than by disuse enervated, and from corruption paralytically disabled from carrying them into effect. We wonder no longer, though we may sometimes be struck with horror, at the prospect of the numerous attendants and vices of corruption, oppression, and ambition, which modern governments exhibit. Society, as it was in the early period of its institution, may with propriety be compared to the loveliness and chastity of an amiable maid : for both are destined to procreation, to become fertile, to undergo the travail of birth ; and to submit to these purposes, they are led by the hand of nature. Both, in experiencing the social powers, which are appointed to work those effects, may unfortunately meet with ruffians, who with violence ravish their charms, and produce (how unlike the matrons !) a progeny of vices, deceit, oppression, and despotism ! We, however, will not, as the foregoing premises evince, ascribe such a mangled, perverted, and horrid state of society to avarice and corruption, to unbounded lust of power, and to the real want of humanity in persons at the head of government : we refer it to their ignorance of

the

the true interests of human nature, and shall plainly prove that such is the fact, in a different part of this work. Men of respectable characters and integrity very frequently conduct the helm of public affairs ; and unquestionably they believe, there is no other mode of conducting them than the usual one, which is so generally followed and adopted. But the rich treasures of civilization are not lowered and suspended within the reach of the successful candidates of ambition, who elevate themselves to direct and govern nations, but do not concern themselves to explore their true interests. They are not intended to be the acquisitions of the powers of oratory and literature : they are to be acquired only by laborious cultivation ; they yield to the pious pursuits of industrious knowledge alone ; and they solely intrust themselves to the practical genius, that can lay their foundations with adequate solidity, and build upon them a durable and complete superstructure, which can be injured neither by time nor by chance. Otherwise the blessings of civilization, though numerous and obvious as the stars of the firmament in the clearness of the most lucid night, are seen at an extreme distance, and only twinkle, and do not irradiate the paths of near-fighted politicians and statesmen.

The great advantages and blessings we have intimated, might be provided for a nation, though involved in an inadequate agency of government,

through the daring attempts of an individual, sincerely actuated by motives of humanity and patriotism ; qualified for the labour, both by a speculative and a practical turn of mind ; and competent to consider the state of such a nation, and to explore the effectual means of rectifying it. What great services, what glorious means of complete redress might not be expected from such a person, when, with a patient eye, he had leisurely surveyed and ascertained the defective interests of society ; seen the divine intention of their perfection ; and by numerous and adequate devices had prepared and accomplished the different arduous plans of the several designs necessary to supply and complete such interests ? More especially when he had not been content with the efforts of speculation to serve his country, but had, by the most active exertions, acquired the practical abilities requisite to carry such plans into execution ; and with a comprehension and a fancy, like the poets, glancing from heaven to earth, from earth to heaven, given shape to infinitely various devices and expedients, which before possessed not even a name, and embodied unknown ideas, requisite to establish national perfection ; and only failed, because he was not permitted, however able, to give them local existence and habitation.

This is not matter of supposition, or a fancy of inefficient patriotism. For we ourselves have flood forwards

forwards as volunteers on this occasion; and not greatly deficient in the above particular requisites, have nearly accomplished in regard to the public welfare, what can reasonably be expected by their means. Persons of candour, who possess an intimate knowledge of us, look rather to our arms than to our language; and considering our past actions, expect great extensive views, and practical efforts corresponding to them. These efforts are not effective, because we are not kings and ministers of state. With some reason we merit such favourable attention: for almost twenty years of our lives we have spent, as farmer, general cultivator, and practitioner in the means of national welfare, as well as in those of restoring bodily health. Thus with infinite toil and labour, frequently with great and real anguish; and at the expence of our private fortune, we have explored and established in twelve sciences, a comprehensive system of public welfare; and acquired a knowledge of the practical means of carrying them into effect for the completion of the perfect state of society. During the pursuit, knowledge was only regarded, as it was useful to society, and this only as it was practicable; so that we may speak with greater boldness of the efficacy, and general merits of our different public proposals.

Indeed, in respect of the mode, in which we lay the system of the twelve sciences for the promotion

of public welfare, before the world, the consideration of our own conduct is wholly omitted, and regard solely paid to what are the most effectual means of promoting the success of so comprehensive a system. From this motive it becomes incumbent upon us to pay no respect to men, to opinions, to greatness, or to affection. Actuated as we are with ardent sincerity in our cause, it is not grievous to our feelings to dismiss all modesty and diffidence respecting sentiment—it is the jewel, and not the finder of it, which causes the bright irradiance and captivating lustre.—Not to ourselves, but to the system of public welfare, which we propose, do we ascribe the great and just commendations, which this alone deserves; and as without its assistance the splendid talents and genius of Mr. Pitt will not much surpass those of his predecessors in office, so with its aid, weak abilities are strong and effectual. This system, therefore, with a boldness, which waves all personal considerations, regarding ourselves, we shall, if time will admit, propose under four heads. 1st, Shewing, as in this chapter, what are its merits. 2ndly, What are the sure and certain means of carrying it at this time into effect. 3dly, How far the actual state of society establishes the necessity or advantage of its introduction. 4thly, How incompatible to the perfection of society, the knowledge and exertions not only of government, but of all classes in general, are

at the present time, in respect of patriotic information, philanthropy, and executive abilities.

The prominent characteristic feature of innovation, which the first introduction of great designs, however beneficial they may be, always displays to the public eye, too often excites strong prepossessions to their disadvantage. Therefore it ought to be the earliest care of prudence, timely to remove those prepossessions, and to acquire the confidence of the world in favour of such designs, by shewing, when in our power, various others of a similar nature and tendency, which have been introduced and carried into effect; and which have been found, as to their respective consequences and effects, perfectly unexceptionable. Not unhappily for the present proposal of a system of public welfare, we can from distant ages and from the present times produce various designs nearly similar, differing only in mode and degree, which have in different countries succeeded with the greatest felicity, and produced the most fortunate events.

The first introduction of civilization, which the records of literature commemorate, was evidently similar both in nature and in extent to that great perfection of it, which we attempt to accomplish; and the rude nations, who received the advantage, made the greatest returns in their power to their benefactors, by constituting them the kings and sovereigns of states, which had

been barbarous and savage, and were civilized through their means. The ancient polytheism, when cursorily examined, is found a most comprehensive system of civilization, extending to almost every various object, which our practical system of public welfare embraces ; the divinities therein worshipped had been men instrumental to the preservation and advancement of government, religion, law, morality, wisdom, agriculture, medicine, commerce, war, and of almost all the various different arts ; and the worship of such divinities was employed very happily, as an efficient expedient ; and rendered by various powerful devices a most suitable and powerful means for accomplishing public purposes. However, there was wanting to this system an indispensable requisite, which alone could give it duration and stability, to wit, a truly religious foundation of real divine revelation. Adding only this firm basis, the system of civilization which we propose, in all other views accords in general with the heathen system ; particularly in its leading principle, that of an *Eros*, or a great soul of public and private philanthropy, which pervades and mingles with every part of the ancient mythology ; in the continual heroism and activity, which the heathen religion enjoined, with regard to courageous and magnanimous achievements, in favour of humanity ; and in that embellishment and accomplishment of the human person, which

which the ancient mythology has attempted to effect by means of deities consecrated to beauty and love, to the graces and the muses, to festivals and games; and which are comprehended by us, as a part of the practical science of mental civilization.

The next great event in civilization, and bearing the strongest resemblance to our proposal, was the immortal production of the great genius of the British Alfred. It was supported on the strongest foundation and superstructure of divine truth, of useful knowledge, and of adequate information, successfully conveyed to the minds of all his subjects; and it effected, through the farthest extent of the kingdom, whatever degree of national perfection the rudeness of the age could expect to see brought to light, or was capable of receiving. At so remote a distance from the present period, Great Britain experienced in the achievements of an Alfred, what wonderful great and inestimable services, the accomplishment, though only a partial one, of the practical sciences, we are inculcating, confers upon society. To that illustrious Sovereign, living in an age, which possessed not the great powers and various refinements belonging to the modern sciences, does this country at the present time stand indebted for those illustrious civil establishments of policy, which, however greatly they have been marred and corrupted by us, are still the proudest glories, the most illustrious mon-

numents, and the commemorative trophies of the national worth, ability, and virtue. To these, we trust, our proposals are perfectly similar, differing only in their more extensive views, and corresponding to the great progress of modern knowledge; and yet still more closely allied, inasmuch as the designs of both originated in unbounded ideas of benevolence and humanity, and were destined to encounter and struggle with hardships and difficulties, which may be deemed almost infinite. These, however, by one of the parties were actually surmounted, and with respect of the other party, ought to have been surmounted by the public adoption of his efficacious expedients and successful enterprizes.

In modern times, and, perhaps, for ages anterior to those, with which we are acquainted, a most respectable system of national perfection has been long established in China, which infinitely excels the present state of society in Europe. What we know of it, is similar in all respects to our own system upon the subject; however, the particular merits of it are little known, from our ignorance of the interior affairs of the nation, but we trust our proposed system of the practical sciences for the promotion of the public welfare, is as much superior to it, as Europe is supposed in the general sciences to take the lead of China. Though it be an inferior design to the introduction of national perfection,

perfection, yet the enterprize of making an extensive people of barbarians, equal to what is called a polished European nation, cannot be passed by on the present occasion. It is hardly necessary to say, we mean the fabrication of the Russian empire by the great Czar. The labour, as persons intimately acquainted with the imperfect state of society in general will believe, of converting a barbarous into a polished European nation, was not a great one ; for in the attempt are not to be included the unwillingness of the people to be civilized, nor the wars the Czar was obliged to maintain against the polished savages of Europe. In the facility and certainty and moderate efforts, by which the labour was accomplished, is manifested, that the enterprize of introducing national perfection can neither be arduous nor precarious, in a state already greatly improved : indeed, heaven has ordered, it should be both a very easy and a very secure one.

At a very late and nearly the same period have appeared two great and comprehensive systems of public welfare, the aim of both of which are to establish a complete state of society, that of the regeneration of France, and that, produced by ourselves, of the Royal regeneration of Great Britain into its national perfection. The two systems bear the greatest analogy to each other, and may be considered as perfectly congenial in their natures and tendencies, although accompanied with such strong

strong marks of discrimination, as evince their respective originalities ; and thus they give very happily the strongest proof imaginable of their scientific nature, and of the moral certainty of completing, by means of an adequate attempt, the perfection of human welfare, which both systems labour to accomplish. The praises due to the former cannot be expressed in a manner equal to their merits ; and the blemishes, if such exist, are not charges of inability, much less of criminality ; but must be referred to necessity, from the peculiar state of the government of France at the time it was regenerated. However, we must not appreciate our own system of public welfare with inferior justice ; and therefore in vindication of its merits we claim, that it is not accompanied with any of those exceptions, which in that adopted in France, were unavoidable ; but that, on the contrary, in adapting and moulding itself to the present circumstances, form, and situation of the government of the country, it has attained absolute perfection : that the constitution of the society in general, as we have proposed to regulate it, by moderate alterations, but great, efficient, real improvements, is a perfect work of policy ; that the constitution of the different agencies, by which we propose to execute the public concerns, invested in the management of government, and that the mode of exercising the elective power of popular repre-

representation in parliament, are much more desirable, as we recommend them, than they are at present established in France; and that the great extended views and proposed effects of the different practical sciences of public welfare, which our design of national perfection so fully comprehends, are in general but faintly drawn and displayed in the chart of the French revolution.

Indeed our own idea of the system, which we have proposed, extends to the opinion, that we have actually advanced the great desiderata, which were wanting, to give adequate perfection and durability, to the temporary efforts of the early civilizers of society, whose labours we have now commemorated: and that those desiderata are competent, not only to continue and perpetuate to the end of time the blessings, which those great men imparted only to the age wherein they lived, but at the same time to multiply these blessings, and to advance them in their highest state of perfection, so as to become infinitely greater, more extensive, more useful and beneficial. We are ourselves, no doubt, persuaded of the sufficiency and validity of our proposals in general; but we are more convinced, because against these, so long laid before the world, no rational objections have ever been, or, we affirm, can possibly be made and supported. By a still severer test our opinion is now, perhaps, unalterably and indelibly confirmed in the following

following extracts from the late celebrated publication of Mr. Burke: for, formed and modelled according to the rules and laws, prescribed in the extracts, he very liberally admits a perfect design of national regeneration may at any time be introduced into use. These extracts contain and expound the principles and means, agreeably to which we formed and constructed our system of national perfection; nay, we know they are our own thoughts and sentiments.

“ A good patriot and a true politician always considers how he shall make the most of the existing materials of his country. A disposition to preserve, and an ability to improve, taken together, would be my standard of a statesman.”

“ At once to preserve and to reform, is quite another thing. When the useful parts of an old establishment are kept, and what is superadded is to be fitted to what is retained, a vigorous mind, steady persevering attention, various powers of comparison and combination, and the resources of an understanding fruitful in expedients are to be exercised; they are to be exercised in a continual conflict with the combined force of opposite vices; with the obstinacy, that rejects all improvement, and the levity that is fatigued and disgusted with every thing of which it is in possession.”

We next proceed, more fully to shew in succession, some few of the merits of the different

parts

parts of the system of public welfare, which we have already proposed, as consisting of twelve practical sciences, and in particular, shall shew various great improvements in these devised by ourselves, and announced in our different writings. The first practical science is that of government. The display of great warmth and intemperate passion in treating of the reform of government, denotes the partisan rather than the patriot; and we trust we shall by no means appear in the former character, from the improvements, which we have proposed in respect of government, being in all instances really so mild, and moderate, salutary, and useful, and at the same time, so consistent with the constitution, that they can hardly be called innovations. The great objects we principally labour to accomplish, in respect of government are, to divest it of those improper views, which almost engross the whole attention of modern governments, acquiring influence by corruption, and following a restless ambition, which never ceases to be destructive to the peace of mankind; and as we wish, to substitute instead of those views, the great and numerous objects of national perfection; and to make government, by various processes of national improvement, blended with it, the great efficient means of completing our plan for the public welfare, or prosperity of society. We, having fully attended to this subject in the present and our

other

other works at large, proceed to offer to the public consideration and preference, different forms of government.

From our views of national perfection, we are obliged first to propose a perfect form of government: and, in our opinion, whatever forms have in past times existed, or do at present exist, there is only one form, which in any nation is perfect in respect of its proper object, to wit, the happiness and welfare of society. This consists first, of a biennial House of Commons, which, in an adequate manner, represents the people; secondly, of a Sovereign, assisted with an adequate administration and agency placed under him; and invested with (saving a perpetual unlimited right of refusing his assent to new laws proposed) nearly the same powers, which are entrusted to our king at present, but with those powers, (which is not the case at present) directed to and employed in a sincere and active promotion of national improvement, and of the public happiness; thirdly, of a House of Peers resembling the present, and forming a part of the government of Great Britain, but not possessed longer than the continuance of a biennial parliament, with a right or power to refuse its assent to any laws, proposed by the representative body of the people; fourthly, of a substitute for the ancient folkmote, and of an improvement of it, which we call a legislative folkmote, to act occasionally

occasionally, in order to supply the defects, naturally and unavoidably interwoven in a government, composed of the three foregoing departments. Of these departments we shall next proceed to treat in order; we propose, however, to refer the consideration of what we have to offer respecting the last department, to its proper head, the practical science of public agencies; and not in any sense to allude to the subject under the present. This separation of the subject will render it less complex; besides, we are least certain of the adoption of the preceding form of government, whose outlines we have proposed, and which, we imagine, is the most perfect possible to be devised.

The different forms of government, which, rendering necessary justice to each, we shall present to the public choice, with a view to establish our proposed system of national perfection, are four in number: 1st. The present constitution of government, the House of Commons, being modified into a proper representation of the people, and the sovereign power, into an effectual agency of public welfare and national improvement. 2dly. The present constitution of government, as last explained, with the occasional addition of what we call an extraordinary legislative Folkmote; and with the junction of the ancient Folkmote, whose operations are explained in the farther consideration of public agencies, and may be consulted. 3dly. The

perfect government, consisting of four departments, the Commons, the King, the Lords, and the different Folkmotes, already proposed ; the House of Lords, and the Sovereign being both deprived of a perpetual right of refusing their assent to bills offered by the Commons. 4thly. Government, as constituted only of the three first departments proposed under the foregoing form, which, as consisting in all its relative parts, we consider to be the highest perfection of political œconomy ; that part which regards the Folkmotes, being in the present form wholly omitted, and the Sovereign possessing his present powers and prerogatives.

The first of those forms, being the present constitution of the government of Great Britain, meliorated in respect to the Commons and the Sovereign, is but an imperfect one ; nor is it sufficiently favourable to the introduction of the system of public welfare, and national perfection, which we propose. However, we dare engage, or attempt at least, to effect these last objects through its channel ; and we are the more emboldened to endeavour to accomplish them by such means, as the progress of national perfection in China, we suppose, has flourished under a despotic government ; and as the perfection of any other of the practical sciences of public welfare is more an object in our consideration than that of government, which, in fact, is only a blessing to society, as an instrument of effecting all other means

means of public welfare. Of the second of those forms, being the preceding with the addition of the Folkmotes; we highly approve, as it certainly comes fully within the line of perfection; as it takes hardly any power or authority, worthy their regard, from the three present departments of the constitution, and will be therefore more agreeable to them in general; as it gives the people that consequence and security, which are requisite for their welfare, and actually is no more than a mere restoration of their ancient rights and privileges, which their beloved and magnanimous Alfred once gratuitously gave them; and as it would be a very efficient and happy means of carrying into effect the proposed system of public welfare and national perfection; for this could then be planned and designed by the present three departments of government, who could readily call in the legislative, or the ancient Folkmote, to compromise any differences of opinion, or to give a sanction to the whole design, when rendered complete. To the third form of government, which we consider as perfect in the most complete manner, we give a most express preference: but as prepossession and the love of power may be too prevalent, we do not insist upon it, though it would unquestionably be infinitely the most favourable to the interests of the king, of the people, and of the several parties in all future times. With the fourth form proposed of go-

vernment, as consisting solely of an adequate representative body of the people; a House of Lords only possessed of a right during the continuance of a biennial parliament, to refuse their assent to any bills proposed by the Commons; and of a Sovereign possessed of the present powers of the crown, and acting as an adequate agency of national improvement: with this form of government we should be satisfied.

We shall next enter more fully into the consideration of the principles of the foregoing remodifications of government, as we have proposed them under this last form, although a proper comprehension of them is no less essential to a just appreciation of the other forms. The different services and advantages of such a form of government as the last, are too numerous to be related within the compass of a small publication, like the present: however, as we mean to speak of each part successively, we shall first observe in general, that by its means the people, who are infinitely too much depressed through the kingdom, owing to the present state of their parliamentary representation, as we have fully shown elsewhere, would be raised from groveling supineness to that proper elevation in society, which is most conducive to the public welfare, to their private happiness and interest, and to virtue and humanity. Equal to accomplish these important objects, by means of

an adequate parliamentary representation of the people, is a plan, which we have proposed, and which supplies every desideratum requisite to parliamentary representation, as extending to all house-keepers, as well as freeholders, a right of representation; as affording them the biennial exercise of it, and this, whether or no there is a competition between different candidates; as enabling them to vote in districts near their places of abode, and this in such a form, as will secure secrecy and independence; as quashing venality and corruption; as establishing equality of parliamentary representation according to populousness, but not taking away or affecting the corrupt boroughs by any other means than their choice of receiving an adequate value in return, and by different proper regulations proposed in regard to them, which are unobjectionable to the proprietors, but will, after no long period of time, effectually diminish their number, and in the mean time render them not prejudicial to the liberties of the kingdom; and lastly, as augmenting the number of the representatives of the people in parliament. As we have lately with these views drawn up on a particular occasion our plan at full length for the reform of the representation of the people, which was more concisely stated in our works, Mr. Capel Loft has perused it, the moderation of whose public spirited principles, and whose judgement and sagacity are well known to the

public. His opinion is, that the plan is perfect and unexceptionable, and that nothing can be added to, or subtracted from it. The plan, we are certain, is not injurious to the crown ; and it would provide for the people at all times proper influence, consideration, and respect, adequate attention to their interests, independency, elevation of character, and all the other happy blessings of inestimable liberty, which, in general, are almost rooted, and banished out of the kingdom.

The general remodification of government, which we have proposed in respect of the House of Peers, and the Commons, is in a peculiar manner favourable to the interests of the Crown. In the first place, as the Crown by its means has resort every two years to the people, and is not restricted by the absolute necessity of the concurrence of the House of Lords with different public measures ; such a modification of government permits that association and co-operation to take place between the people and the king, which has long been considered as unquestionably the truest interest of the kings of this country, and no less that of the people. The advantage which a king can make of such a junction with his people, was very lately evinced, when Mr. Pitt superseded the administration of the Duke of Portland : but it has in all ages been experienced, more especially in former times, when different kings took the part of their people,

people, in order to liberate themselves from the controul of a too powerful aristocracy ; but did not proceed far enough to establish a free and perfect connection between them and their people. In the second place, the proposed remodification of government would remove the grievous and ignominious necessity, under which the Crown labours, in order to preserve a commanding influence over those bodies, of practising the numerous arts of corruption and venality, which have so long sufficed the diadem, and so long engendered in government a mass of flagitiousness, too enormous in quality and extent to be credited, except by those, who are personally acquainted with it. In the third place, such a modification would increase the proper constitutional influence of the Crown, by the number of additional establishments, which our proposed advancement of the perfection of society would render necessary ; for the right of appointing to those, as well as all present ones, would be preserved to the Crown on account of the tranquillity of government, and the adequate vigour of the executive power : nor could the Royal prerogative thus extended, prove injurious to the liberties of a people, which are confirmed and secured in such a reform of parliamentary representation, as we have above recommended. In the fourth place, the proposed modification conveys great additional strength to the Crown, in

investing it with adequate departments and agencies for the cultivation and introduction of the national improvements in general. For these, in the benefits and advantages, which they continually conferred on society, would most powerfully and irresistibly conciliate the public affections to the throne ; and for the faithful discharge of their several duties, the means proposed on this occasion, could never be incompatible with the interests of the Crown, but would for ever remove and terminate all those national murmurs and discontents against kings and their servants, for the existence of which, in the almost total disregard at present by the latter of the interests of society, there is too much reason.

As corroborative proofs of the safety to the interests of the Crown in such a remodification of government, proposed for the welfare and happiness of society ; we, in favour of the institution of kings affirm, and our different works fully prove, that kings, established according to such a modification, are necessary, as proper controuls, and counter-balances to the representatives of the people ; as being in a peculiar manner most happily adapted for cultivators, or what may be called, cognoscenti of public plans of improvement, in order to advance the perfection of society ; as being with singular felicity calculated for an executive power, to direct, conduct, and manage public affairs to the greatest advantage, in respect to the interests of

of different communities; as most favourable to preserve the tranquillity of nations, and more particularly to check and repress the inordinate forwardness of ambition; and as restraining the not unfrequent insolence of overgrown fortune, and the oppressive pride, so very fatal to the interests of humanity, when those in exalted stations do forget themselves. Kings, therefore, are great blessings to mankind, and the best friends and benefactors of their people. They are the most efficient parts of a perfect government, established on solid and true principles; and if they know their own interests, and love their people, can never be shook from their thrones; let them in time guard and secure the public opinion, as we recommend: or they have to dread the insurrections of their people against the corruptions of government, for such insurrections e'er long will be unavoidable, and the longer they are delayed, be more dreadful. Let them make these exertions e'er it be too late, lest all confidence in hereditary royalty be finally lost through the whole world.

The scaffolding, on which kings are raised by the ladder of prerogative, is rendered weak, and becomes top-heavy, by loading it from unnecessary apprehensions with an oppressive weight, to give it greater stability: it ought to be content and satisfied with possessing the various advantages of royalty, which are alone really useful, such as riches,

riches, respect, the power of nomination and appointment to place and office, pleasure and happiness. In enlightened days it will no more be supported than gratified by tyranny and oppression, the neglect of the public welfare, corrupt administrations, the embarrassments of politics, and the tumults, and the ravages of war; on the contrary, it is sure finally to be destroyed by them.

The House of Peers will scarcely be any sufferers by the small substraction, which such a modification of government proposes to take from their power, in depriving them of the right to refuse their assent to bills proposed by the representatives of the people, for a longer time than the existence of biennial parliaments. For they would very seldom; and as they must always, unavoidably possess great power, to influence the appointment of members of parliament; perhaps they would never have an interest, or even a desire, to oppose the sense of the nation, as expressed through the adequate representatives of it: and they would have still fewer and less strong motives to such an opposition, when society was advanced in a tolerable manner to that state of perfection, which we propose to introduce. On the other hand, what unspeakable satisfaction, what indefinable happiness! would they experience from a generous and noble renunciation of a right, fatal and destructive to the virtue and independence of royalty, to the liberties

liberties of mankind, and to the advancement of the numerous blessings of humanity, which yet remain to be employed for completing the happiness of society. The Nobility thus, as the most attached servants to the Sovereign, would, with the highest delicacy and honour of sentiment, remove the numerous corruptions, which darken and corrode the brilliancy of the Crown ; and would release the British monarch, so as for ever after to be free, virtuous, and happy, delivered from ignominious submission to the fatal dishonourable measures, necessary to conciliate the wills and pleasures of subjects associated with him in government. The Nobility would thus equally gratify, and render justice and due respect to the people or the nation at large ; for that the will and sentiments of a whole people can be absolutely overpowered for ever by a small number of Peers, is a consideration shocking to humanity, and one of the most ignominious stigmas of tyranny and despotism on the government of any nation. Moreover, the Nobility in this concession of justice and loyalty to the people and the Sovereign, would for ever secure the continuance of their order, and of the rights and privileges belonging to it, by means of the advantage and importance of these to the public welfare, provided they, in no respect, by interfering with the latter, could blight or destroy it. What we have farther to say concerning the Nobility, as

constituting a part of the government, and the mode, according to which they may retain their present prerogatives, as they possess them at this time, will come under the fourth science to be farther considered.

In the remodification of government, proposed for perfecting the happiness and welfare of society, more especially as accompanied with the reform, we recommended, of the representation of the people in parliament; the House of Commons would find very great general advantage, from the increase of public prosperity, while they liberated the King and people from a long septennial subjection to their arbitrary wills. From the vexations, clamours, toils, and violences of opposite parties; from vice and corruption, and the sacrifice of philanthropy and patriotism; from weakness and inefficiency of council, of design, conduct, and execution; from the vast expence and bribery of elections, and the ruin of private fortunes; from inadequate representation, and any sale of the people by individual members, and from the oppression or destruction of their liberties; none of which circumstances would take place in the proposed remodification of government in such a manner, as to prove injurious to the public welfare. From these dishonourable debasements, if such exist, or if they exist in some degree, the Commons would arise and present the most august, splendid, and magnificent spectacle

spectacle to the world, over which public virtue would with rapture hang suspended ; glory announce the fame of independent patriotism, and of the enterprising spirit of humanity and national welfare ; and the Almighty extend his propitious hand in favour of this country and mankind in general. The great practical system of public welfare, which we propose, would then be properly understood, would readily come forwards, and be accomplished in its full perfection ; while able, pure, and uncorrupted administrations, such as patriotic and virtuous kings will employ in such remodified governments, would take the lead, and conduct, even from treasury benches, the Commons with the solemnity of deliberation and council, and with animated energy, through all the paths which lead to the completion of national prosperity and perfection, without the aid of corruption and venality.

We have in our different writings fully shewn, that in a perfect government nobility is not a less essential part than royalty : the nobles are indeed inseparable ; for a king without a nobility, as at the present time we indeed see in France, cannot constitute by himself a proper power of instigation, controul, and counterbalance, to a national or democratic assembly. In a manner very absurd and inconsistent, majesty would exhibit a most disgusting indecorum and ungraciousness by its personal interference

interference, or combat with such a popular assembly ; a nobility, therefore, to interpose instead of the sovereign, on such occasions, is necessary in a good government : and it would also in itself, as unconnected with the sovereign power, be a very valuable component part of government, as it would be a valuable establishment in society, when not a department of government. For, on the one hand, its superiority would remind the large class of men of fortune, who are not ennobled, of the nature of oppression, and of the indignity, which their numerous inferiors would experience in a too degrading submission to themselves ; and, on the other hand, while such a superiority, if even considerably exercised, cannot injure a people in the full possession of the lawful rights of liberty, it will check and gently break any ferocity, which too high a sense of equality and independence may too naturally inspire.

To the establishment of a third power of government, France must at last revert from the experience of the necessity of it. Such an establishment unquestionably cannot be their ancient nobility, because, among other reasons, it is too numerous ; for all or none of the individuals, composing it, must be included. We predict the event to end in the establishment of a house of merit, the members of which will be appointed for life, with a rank somewhat similar to nobility, by the concurrence

currency of the king and the national assenbly. Such a creation will, however, from the disturbance of the public tranquillity it will occasion, from other reasons, and from attendant circumstances, prove a less desirable component part of a perfect government, than such a house of peers as we propose, the number of whose members will be moderate, and whose public virtue and efficiency will be continually cherished and excited by the addition of men of merit, as the public welfare may occasionally require.

The second practical science of public welfare is that of the law, in regard to the amelioration of which, what we have advanced is very extensive and complete. In various different plans of great national improvement, which have been by us laid before the public, we have proposed a very valuable and extensive addition to the laws of the kingdom of the most important nature, the construction of which, as a body of law, we trust, is highly estimable. As an instance, we mention our proposed system of the poor laws; but, in fact, the great fabric of civilization which we advance in our different works, is the whole of it a work of legislation. We have also proposed to improve and reform the laws, now in being, and to render them more practicable and useful, so far as they require melioration: and we trust, what our pretensions engage to perform on this head, will not be considered invalid; since our legislative attempts, respecting

respecting the additional laws, which we have advanced, will not be found deficient in that comprehensiveness of view, in that knowledge of the interests of society, and in that aptitude and efficiency of expedients, by means of which our forefathers formed the valuable code, which is the present practice of the kingdom. As we propose, according to the example of France, but in a more effectual and less exceptionable manner, to improve and reform, to increase as requisite, and to dispose most conveniently the practice of the law, the officers, and the courts of justice, our proposals would remove various great hardships, enormous expences, in no respect either beneficial or honourable to the profession, and we may say, many calamities, all which at present are attendant upon applications to them, from the want of such proposed remodifications; and thus we would indulge society with the numerous blessings and advantages, always supposed to reside under the protection of the law.

The emoluments of the profession are at the same time not in any shape injured by our proposals, but would be increased, by a greater resort for its aid to the courts of justice, and their practice being rendered more accessible; by the support of these being proposed by us to be defrayed at the public expence; and by the burthens of finance imposed upon the instruments of their proceedings being removed,

removed, according to the redress of the finances, which we advise.

Nor merely do we propose to render society the different services and advantages, which it has long been disappointed in expecting from the law ; we propose, at the same time, infinitely to extend the services and advantages, which may be derived from the law. If our system of public welfare was sanctioned, government would court and invite great and salutary objects of legislation into its presence, of whatever nature or kind ; and the capacity and ability for legislation, once so eminent in this kingdom, would be restored to the nation with their ancient powers. Our system of public welfare must necessarily, by the cultivation of it, revive in the profession that legislative genius, which, although no vestige of it remains at present, and it is wholly neglected, ought to be the primary qualification of the faculty, which would not suffer the first characters of the law to be mere interpreters of it, and would open to them new fields of honour, of ambition, and of emolument.

But more especially, as justices of the peace are in general not capable of understanding and determining upon the law in its present, in some measure, unavoidable state of refinement and complication, and which must always maintain and preserve its proper professional consequence ; as they are unacquainted with the arts of peace and civiliza-

tion ; as they have through the kingdom in general, engrossed excessive power, and acquired too great authority for the happiness of society ; which charges we have fully proved against them in our works : we render the law, in general, much more serviceable to society, by proposing to a certain extent, along with the magistracy to include barristers of law ; and to constitute these, under the denomination of presidents of justice, as an efficient part of the police of what now are called justices of the peace, so far as is necessary to redress the above grievances. The barristers are thus intended to be supported upon adequate salaries ; but as they are proposed to be established at great distances from one another, although frequently and regularly to attend the different parts of their jurisdiction, in order to discharge their offices, as justices of the peace, they would not be numerous, and by no means a burthensome expence to the public. At the same time, being very capable, from the usual sagacity, and vigilance, and the comprehensive abilities of the profession, we propose to make use of these barristers, as the faithful guardians, the effectual supporters, and the able interpreters of that perfect plan of society, which we attempt to introduce : in short, we propose them to be the heroes of the design of national perfection : for we know they are perfectly qualified to become adequate adepts in the great proposed

science of public welfare ; and thus to acquire no less knowledge of the interests of society, than of the subtleties and intricacies of law. This post of honour, so favourable for the advancement of their fortune, and the gratification of their ambition, we allot to the profession with great pleasure, which the virtues of their brethren have justly claimed for themselves in America and France ; to whom, as the most faithful friends of humanity, these countries are in a great measure indebted for their freedom. The public, prepared as we would wish, would most kindly receive them, although despised, scouted, and almost outlawed by Mr. Burke, and be very happy to admit them, as the faithful adherents of the general welfare.

The third practical science for promoting the public welfare is that of the local arrangement and district improvement of a country ; or of the division of a country or an empire into such proper parts, as are best accommodated for the management of national concerns ; such as enable government particularly and minutely to attend to the interests of the whole country or empire, and are most convenient or advantageous to their inhabitants, so far as the latter manage their own public affairs. This is a science of great importance in the advancement of civilization ; it is necessary in the most early periods of society, which accordingly, among its first establishments, is arranged

into various great and small divisions, such, as in Great Britain, are its different counties, parishes, and townships. Our different proposals on this subject, as they are diffused through our works, are of great consequence: for, in the first place, the present divisions of the kingdom are very unsuitable, being not at all well adapted for admitting that perfection of society, which we propose to introduce: for instance, counties are far too extensive, and parishes and townships too small, for the knowledge, operation, and establishment of those public agencies, which constitute really one of the practical sciences of public welfare, and are indispensable to such a state of perfection: and they are also similarly inconsistent with the superintendance and attention of government to the state of society, which is an object of the first moment. We have therefore proposed a new partition of the kingdom, which will answer both these purposes, into districts so called, comprehending such a number of parishes and townships, as may be most conducive to the purposes of such districts; or, to give some general idea of their magnitude, into districts ten miles long and the same broad, but variable as circumstances, and more especially their populousness, require; thus in great towns they would be very small, consisting only of a certain number of parishes. We also propose a general revival of the original subdivisions of the kingdom, and

and as their defects in respect of magnitude or convenience can be supplied, or improvements added, to introduce the means: thus Yorkshire, as too large a county, should be subdivided, and townships, where very small, should be joined to others; which latter circumstance may take place without any objections, as to the maintenance of their poor or their roads, from the plans of improvement we offer concerning them.

We propose the improvement of every district to become an object of public concern, for which we have provided by various means. For example, we have proposed, that the state and capacity of each district in respect to its soil, agriculture, natural productions, present improvements of whatever kind, should be carefully ascertained, and registered; also that, as in the manner narrated under the practical science of the national improvements, the welfare and prosperity of every district should be strictly attended to, and industriously promoted in the above, and in all the other particulars, wherein they admit improvement. For this purpose, will singularly conduce the proposed association of different townships into districts; a general district assembly of deputies from each of the townships or parishes, meeting not unfrequently and at regular times; their report and transmission of the state of the district to Parliament; and the establishment of various de-

vices, which we have proposed, for bringing forwards the improvements of the different districts; more especially among these would operate with the best effects the animation or desire, with which the inhabitants of the different districts would laudably be inspired, of acquiring honour and distinction by the superiority of the district, in which they reside, in regard to its improvements over the others. While the inhabitants of the different districts are thus through the kingdom united to promote the public prosperity, and are employed collectively in completing the perfection of the whole nation, we mean that government should be no less patriotic, and attend minutely to each district, superintend, guard, and second the different exertions, correspond with the general assemblies of such districts, and lend them all the assistance in its power. What a great advancement of the national prosperity such a train of proceedings would occasion in a short period, is almost incredible! How highly disposed to and delighted in the improvement of any part of the country, the inhabitants of it are, we know well from experience; and we are confident, that they would ensure the success of the grand scale of improvement, which we now propose. Government at present, for such is the strange inefficiency of all modern institutions, pays no attention to the local advancement of the national improvements, wholly leaving this to the people, who are concerned

cerned in them. From this very blamable neglect we are convinced, that the advancement of the general prosperity is greatly impeded ; that various hardships and calamities exist, which might easily be remedied by such attention, enabling the persons who experience them, to vindicate the oppressed rights of humanity. For example, a certain town in the county of Durham, a most respectable part of the community, from the decline of its trade, the neglect of its police, and a most scandalous general degradation, is become a proper object of parliamentary interference for its relief ; which could readily be afforded from the enclosure of a most valuable common of eight thousand acres of ground, each of which would let at twelve shillings, and from its different natural advantages, which are great and numerous. Unless by an actual interference of Parliament, which would in the present instance be a great and noble act, worthy of public generosity and magnanimity, the said common will never be enclosed ; the trade and police of the place never be re-instated ; nor the town relieved, and exalted to its former splendour and dignity.

Nor do we mean to confine to the nation alone, but to extend to the whole empire the various services, which will naturally proceed from the adoption of the present practical science of public welfare ; and to render our proposed system generally

productive of prosperity through the extent of the dependencies of the nation ; for certainly they are equally entitled to the different advantages, which may result from the promotion of their public welfare. The more distant they are, it is more politic to favour their prosperity. As we have elsewhere fully shewn, the cement which connects any nation and its distant territories, and preserves their firm and durable union, is the ardent promotion by all parties of the common welfare, unaccompanied with suspicion or jealousy ; and the union should be strengthened by allowing those dependencies, as may be effected by a very convenient plan, which we have proposed, a certain representation in the parliaments of the mother-country ; for let not monarchs be meanly fearful of such favours producing independent governments in the distant parts of the empire ; the secret which should quiet their fears is this, that governments of their own are from various reasons by no means desirable institutions to nations in general, provided the natural advantages resulting from them, and the advancement of their public welfare, can otherwise be duly obtained. From Great Britain, blessed with a government promoting the public welfare in the manner we propose, what part of its distant dominions would ever wish to be disunited, or be desirous to create an independent state in itself ? for there could be no advantage in the measure ;

but

but great risque, less security, and the certainty of a vast expence. Nor could there be any inducements to it, which we can foresee; but many present advantages would be forfeited, and among them those, which our proposed plan of national perfection would afford. The reform of the finances, which we recommend, would prevent the necessity of laying any burthens, through the medium of our exports, upon the different parts of the empire; and permit such an union of these with Great Britain to take place, as would supersede all difference of interests between them. Thus even Ireland and Great Britain, though not in reality united, would, in fact, enjoy all the advantages of being one kingdom.

The fourth practical science for promoting the public welfare is, that of proper and effectual public agencies, established through society, for managing to the greatest advantage, the general concerns of the the community. What we have advanced in our different works upon the present subject of public agencies, is of the highest importance: for at present the management of parish businels, and of the finances of the kingdom, admit of a most extensive, and at the same time, of a most beneficial improvement, which consists in the reform either of the inadequate agencies in present use, or of the improper objects, in effecting which, such agencies are employed; either the agencies or the objects being unsuitable

able to the purposes, for which they are intended. The parish officers, more especially as they consist of persons of all denominations ; as they are annually changed and removed ; as they are uninstructed and are appointed at random ; as they too frequently are but the mere tools of justices of the peace ; are too inferior to deserve the name of agency. Hence parish business is in general very ill conducted, and more especially the maintenance of the poor and the roads of the kingdom ; which are become a most burdensome expence to the whole nation.

Officers of the excise and customs, as the sole agency employed in the management of the finances, are not less inadequate in respect of the public welfare, than the former are in regard of parish business. Though they are not so immediately in themselves, but as they are employed to collect duties imposed on an infinite number of different articles, by much the greater part of which are in almost every sense, as we have fully shewn in our writings, the most improper objects of revenue ; for the duties imposed upon them cannot be collected but with very great detriment, very great disadvantage, and very great loss to the public, to the consumer, and to the commercial world. Nay, to render the agency employed in respect to the finances, ridiculous in the extreme, a great number of the various national taxes are collected

collected by the different parish officers. The science of finance, in the manner we mean it should be conducted, is a very different one in its practice from a bare imposition and collection of different duties upon and from an infinite number of various articles of revenue: and is proposed by us to be supported by means of an agency, which we call the district agency, the most effectual of any that has yet been devised in political œconomy, whether it regards finance, or the general purposes of civilization. Such improvement is still more important at a time, when recourse is obliged to be had from necessity, to the unwarrantable expedient of letting out the taxes to the best bidders for them.

The executive department of the state, as such, we wish to extend, improve, strengthen, and invigorate as much as possible; for we are persuaded it is universally the most advantageous instrument for the conduct of public business, when it is rendered adequate and suitable to this purpose. We trust we have produced the means, more especially through our various proposed agencies, which will enable it in an effectual and extensive manner to discharge the most important active offices, which will ever be required from it. At present as an agency, the executive government is most lame and defective; not able to advance much better in its motions than a person who goes upon stilts, nor capable of managing business, and particularly

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nicer concerns, and the general purposes of civilization, much better than a person, who, having arms, yet wants hands and fingers. The national assembly of France has certainly committed a very great error, in devolving a large part of the proper business of the executive power upon the lesser assemblies; and we wish very much, that they may see their error in time.

For the better conduct of parish business, we have proposed what we call a popular agency, consisting of persons regularly chosen by the inhabitants of the several parishes and townships respectively; assisted by proper persons under them, removeable at pleasure; acting according to various suitable and requisite regulations, which we have supplied; and nevertheless subject to the direction and controul of the inhabitants, holding such powers, as they now exercise in the different vestry or parish meetings. We farther propose all the several agents, at regular times to meet together in the most convenient central place, as they belong to the different subdivisions of any district, in the manner districts are proposed to be established under the third practical science of local arrangement and district improvement; and thus to constitute what we would denominate the general assembly of the district.

The purposes and uses, which might be made of such district assemblies, with the proper regulations
requisite

requisite to them, we shall in some measure reduce to a few heads. Those of the former are, 1st, To promote and advance the proposed district improvement, which is comprehended under the third. science of public welfare. 2dly, To excite a general spirit of patriotism, and of attention and attachment to the interests of humanity, and to render those more prevalent than they are at the present time. 3dly, To vindicate and relieve from oppression and injury, any of the respective townships or parishes of the different districts, so far as the powers of the said assemblies are permitted to extend. 4thly, To promote the general acquisition of executive genius and ability for the accomplishment of improvements of every kind, which is unquestionably a practical art, to be learned by proper cultivation, and frequent acquaintance with the subject. 5thly, To give the respectable persons of the community, who would naturally be chosen by the people, as members of such assemblies, proper consideration and influence. 6thly, To be in some measure, a body of information and admonition to the inhabitants of the districts in general, who would not fail of paying a proper respect to the opinions, or to the exemplary conduct of their district assemblies. 7thly, To act as the counter-balancing power, proposed in the subsequent district agency, as a check upon the agents immediately employed under the executive government.

8thly, If

8thly, If thought adviseable, to supply the place of the ancient Saxon Folkmote, which, as the word in a rustic manner imports, was a regular meeting of the people, as an established part of the State, to notice and consider, whether the government, to whom the people delegated the supreme power for the purposes of an adequate administration of public affairs, acted faithfully to their trust, duly attended to the interests of the nation, and committed no mal-practices in regard to them. For one or more deputies, who would be highly honoured in the commission, might readily be delegated from every district assembly of the kingdom, in order to constitute such a meeting, which, for a reason soon to be mentioned, we propose to call the ancient Folkmote. The advantages of such a Folkmote, we are convinced, are very important; and the nature, service, and indeed necessity of it in a perfect, good government, are certainly well evinced, and universally allowed to be so, in the political writings, that we have seen of the Rev. David Williams. Unquestionably the people under every form of government, should be allowed to possess this safeguard; for all governments whatever are infinitely too ready to constitute bodies in themselves, separate and detached from the people; and to sacrifice a great proportion of the public interests to their own views and gratifications. By the revival of the ancient Folkmote in the present form

form proposed, the general will of the people would, in its meetings, be very happily expressed : and there is an additional motive in support of such an establishment, which did not exist in the times of our forefathers ; the great patronage of the Crown, which is certainly too powerful in the constitution, but would be rendered perfectly safe to the State, by the restoration of this ancient part of the British government. 9thly, To establish what we propose to call an extraordinary legislative Folkmote, which, constituted as the preceding, might be convoked in aid, by any one of the three present departments of government separately, or by them all jointly. For various public emergencies may occur, where the whole three present departments would wish to advise and concur with the people in general ; but we farther think a legislative Folkmote affords a happy expedient for making the present form of government, a very good and perfect one ; supposing the constituent parts of it maintained and supported all their several present rights and prerogatives, the House of Commons only being remodified into an adequate representation of the people. For as any one of them might call the Folkmote into consultation, should both these agree in opinion, that concurrence ought to possess, and we shall consider it would possess, the force of law, on account of the respect due to the people, or the nation at large.

Thus

Thus the King, the House of Lords, the Commons, each occasionally, as the emergencies severally incident to them required, would find an effectual support, and, as the public welfare rendered adviseable, adequate means of maintaining this, notwithstanding any improper views or counsels of the other departments of government.

The Crown, in the establishment of such a Folkmote, must necessarily acquire a great increase of strength : at present it ventures to negative no measures ; but with the co-operation of such a body, whose assistance it would always experience from a faithful discharge of its duty, it might oppose any measures it pleased of the other departments, and thus would become perfectly free and independent ; and would acquire an additional means of ingratiating with the people, in the compliment it would pay the latter, by advising with the Folkmote.

The legislative Folkmote would no less be applicable in aid to the House of Lords, than to the King, if they were actually deprived of a perpetual, and only possessed of a biennial right of refusing their assent to bills proposed by the House of Commons ; for it would be very proper to provide, that in this case also, either of them should have a right of appeal to the legislative Folkmote ; and that its dictates should be obeyed, if the latter co-operated therewith.

However, the employment of such Folkmotes would, in general, be very seldom necessary. For unquestionably the three other departments of government would incline to settle and compromise their differences, and not have recourse to the determination of a Folkmote, when it could be avoided.

As to the regulations, which may be requisite in respect of such district assemblies, we shall, in general propositions, briefly hint, that the Nobility or their sons should not be admitted as members; that the ancient Folkmote should only be assembled, when a proper number of districts agree to summon one; that the district assemblies should be biennial, half the members going out every year, and not being elected to sit again for two years from the time of leaving the assembly, as may readily be adjusted and contrived; that the powers and authorities entrusted to the district assemblies should be very moderate, and strictly circumscribed, excepting as to what has already been proposed in respect of the Folkmotes, and by no means be either executive or judicial; that such district assemblies should be obliged on a summons, received from any one of the departments of the supreme government, to delegate from themselves one or more deputies, in order to constitute a legislative Folkmote for the purposes already explained; that the presidents of justice, so called, proposed under

the practical science of jurisprudence, as their jurisdictions appertain to the districts, may be consulted by the assemblies, for the purpose of information and advice; that the Folkmote should be held in the most convenient central part of the kingdom for its assembly.

The second agency is what we call district agency; and it is chiefly proposed to conduct and manage within the different districts the public concerns, so far as these respect the nation at large, and are, or ought to be invested in the hands of government, and not of parishes and townships. As an agency, it is proposed to be conducted according to the strictest principles of entry and survey, and of instigation and controul, and according to the most rigid observance of every order and rule of requisite discipline; and to be established upon numerous and well weighed and adequate regulations, which we have devised for the most complete accomplishment of the several purposes of the agency, according to the different objects of its employment, which may be made very numerous. It is proposed to consist, 1st, Of a board or boards, immediately placed under the executive government of the kingdom, and being the supreme power of such district agency. 2dly, Of an adequate number and series of effective and well-instructed officers in proper subordination, appointed for each district, according to the occasion and

and purpose of their agency; the effectual and faithful discharge of whose duty we have provided for by a variety of happy apposite expedients, which we have proposed, employed in the mode of instigation and controul upon their conduct. 3dly, Of superior officers, each of whom is proposed to superintend and survey a number of districts, or the general agency of a particular district, as his time will permit him to attend to the same in an adequate manner. 4thly, As a counterbalance to the foregoing parts of the proposed agency, of proper persons residing in the district, chosen by the inhabitants of the same, in order to observe and be vigilant, that the agencies do not injure, invade, or molest in any respect the interests of the inhabitants of the districts, otherwise than they are warranted by the law; and farther, to be, according as is devised in our works, an additional means of controuling and instigating such agencies in the proper discharge of the respective duties of their offices. However, for a farther account of an agency, so important, and so effectual for the different purposes of its institution, we refer the reader to various parts of our works.

We have likewise proposed a police, suitable to the larger cities of the kingdom; which is similar to the district agency, differing only as we have lodged the supreme power, management, and appointment of such police, in the jurisdiction of

those cities. However, we have forgotten to insert a perfect plan of such a police : for that, which we have proposed, is erroneous, as some of the more severe regulations of it ought to be subtracted, and milder regulations we have by us, substituted in their room ; or, as the former often are really superfluous, the chief merit of a good police being comprised in the active and effective virtues of its different agencies ; thus, however improved, the police proposed would form a perfect design for the purposes to be answered by it.

Other agencies, besides these, are proposed in our works, and more especially occasional polices of public service, as government may occasionally stand in need of them ; nor for the assigned purposes alone, but for every various view of civilization, the agencies we propose, are calculated ; or they may readily be adapted, and suited to such. Nor have we merely attempted to introduce different public agencies, and provide the nation with adequate executive instruments ; but in a happy manner, we trust we have exerted ourselves to supply, and connect with government, what we call the public genius or capacity of enterprise, sufficient and effective to devise and execute in the most complete and effectual manner, all the different designs of national perfection, and to accomplish all objects of public welfare, of whatever nature, or however arduous. Such a genius, so much wanted

wanted to direct the public affairs! we have, as it were, generated, and produced, as a new creation; and while we formed it adequate to devise and execute all the different designs of national perfection, we have enabled it also to procure all the information necessary for these purposes.

In the designs of national perfection, reasoning makes no part: the most extensive general views, fully comprehensive of their several subjects, are taken with perfect accuracy: the minute measures are as much attended to, as those of the largest magnitude, and both are provided with the greatest care: judgement and imagination vie which shall be most serviceable, yet always are inseparable: and those happy, thrice happy! strokes of executive genius are predominant, which surmount the greatest obstacles and impediments, although they appear to the common eye impossible to be surmounted; which, with facility, and at the same time by the simplest means, accomplish the most arduous and complicated undertakings. In order to form designs so great and perfect, we have blended with the public genius of enterprise, the efficient spirit of executive ability; and endowed such genius with the certainty and infallibility, or with the successful perseverance of irresistible heroism. Thus matured and perfected, the power of such genius is with as singular felicity directed, through the medium of government, to the accomplishment of all

the different services of the nation, and of the various, infinite, grand, and universal views of national perfection. Nor does it act and operate in respect of these with violence, but with softened impulse, with tempered strength, with gentleness and mildness, as the watry stores of rich fertility, during the amenity of April, descend from heaven in suspended lapses, imperceptibly steal into the earth, and, without violence, fully satisfy her droughty bosom.

Under the present subject of public agency, we may, with great propriety before we conclude, advert to two very leading circumstances in the re-generation of France. They are, 1st, That public business, which we propose, should be placed in the hands of the executive government, and transacted through the means of the different, but more especially the district agencies, is in France solely placed in the hands of the assemblies of the different departments and districts, into which the kingdom is divided and subdivided ; and these popular assemblies wholly renewed every four years. Such assemblies can hardly be considered as agencies, and are farther in various other respects, as we have pointed out in our work on the royal regeneration of Great Britain, not at all eligible. The adoption of them for the purpose could only have proceeded from a mistaken notion of speculative œconomical writers, that an executive government, by means

means of agencies subordinate to it, cannot transact public business so well, as parish meetings have it in their power: for of this species certainly are the French assemblies of the departments and districts. The contrary of this mistaken notion, however, is well evinced in the superior efficacy of our excise and custom-house departments in managing the finances, to that of any kind of parish or district meetings, chosen occasionally from the people. Nor does the national assembly seem to have had the idea, that public agencies could be constructed in so effectual a manner, as we have proposed to form them, for managing and conducting public business, and for the various views and purposes of civilization.

Our second animadversion is, that in France the people immediately, or their large delegated assemblies, have the sole appointment of the clergy, and of the administrative officers of justice. We treat with greater respect this than the foregoing part of the constitution of France. However, we could have wished they had placed these appointments in the executive, or any other power, subject to that greater or less instigation or controul, which would have answered the purposes proposed in committing them to the people. For the executive power may be so instigated, and checked, superintended, and regulated, as consistently with national perfection, to be the great and principal instrument of this; and

we dare engage ourselves to produce the requisite means. Courts, as it were, of police, chosen, if requisite, from the members of the church and the law, and at the same time respectively supporting the different interests of these, might be formed in France, to decide on the aptitude or in-aptitude, and on the probability of the persons to be appointed, contenting the people. The executive power might previously inform the inhabitants, or the different districts, or the electoral assemblies, of the persons, whom it intended to nominate, and desire them to state their objections, if they had any, to the latter. These would naturally be attended to; but if the executive power persevered in their appointment, this might be annulled by petition to the national assembly, provided this thought the petition well founded. In like manner any of the clergy or officers of justice might be removed on account of improper conduct. Or if these regulations were not thought sufficient in favour of the people, the concurrence of the national assembly, or of the district, or electoral assemblies, more particularly concerned, or of the courts of police abovementioned, might be had to the original appointment.

It is necessary in some measure to subjoin, that we have not spoken of that, which we may denominate the county agency of the kingdom, with the different officers subordinate to it: but this would

would have been superfluous, more especially as unnecessarily adding to the prolixity of the subject, since any farther regulations or improvements, wanting in respect of county agency, may readily be proposed and carried into effect.

The fifth practical science of public welfare is that of finance. Under the foregoing head, we showed in a sufficient manner, the present wretched state and practice of finance in this country; and for farther proof of this, we must, from the complication and comprehensiveness of the subject, refer to the particular treatise on the subject, where it will be evident, how impossible it is, within a small work, to describe the numerous errors, absurdities, and corruptions, which are observable in the finances. The system of finance in present use, which consists merely in the imposition of duties upon infinite different articles, and in the collection of these by as numerous officers, commenced in general with the ignorance of the times, under the succession of the tyrants after William the Conqueror; and from the inefficiency and defectiveness of the executive government of later periods, and from various causes of corruption and desire of influence, has been continued; and at last extended to almost every thing within the kingdom, upon which a tax could be laid; and in an attempt to be extended into our late colonies of North America, fatally dismembered the empire. However, there are

within

within the realm immense resources, equal to those lately employed in France, as we have fully shown, and as will be admitted by every candid person fully competent to judge concerning them; which, without any subsisting exception to the appropriation of them for the purpose, nay, with great and most important collateral advantages, may be employed not merely to prevent the present necessity of adopting severer modes of finance, such as letting out the taxes, concerning which we have spoke before, or such as the extension of the excise laws; not merely to prevent additional taxation; but to pay off the national debt, nay, at the same time, very effectually to exonerate the public burdens. *Those resources in general we are enabled to bring forwards and employ for the above purposes, by means of various devices and expedients of sufficient force and number, wrought up and combined into various complete and high-finished designs, contained in our different writings, and by means of the district agency, which we have proposed for executing those designs.*

The first two of such resources are the present public charge and expence of the maintenance of the poor, and of the roads, from which a great acquisition of revenue may be saved by means of our different plans for managing those to the best advantage. At the same time, we engage to support the poor and the roads much better than they are maintained at present. Universal consent admits,

admits, that our plan, in respect of the poor, would produce a revenue of one million a year; and it is certainly that effectual, complete design, whether it is adopted for the general benefit of the nation, or for the private relief of the people, who support the poor, which so many persons have of late attempted in amending and reforming the Poor laws, to explore and bring forwards for the good of the nation. A third resource is, a very considerable revenue to be drawn from paper money, this being placed under the protection of parliament; and issued for property received as value, which is to be reserved ready to take up the paper money issued for it; and we need not increase, if this be a necessary requisite, the present amount of paper money in the kingdom, which appears to be about double that of the coin in present circulation; and at the same time, such a paper revenue is proposed to be rendered, according to the devices we employ, and along with the present quantity of specie in the kingdom, a much superior medium for the circulation of wealth, than any that has ever yet been devised in the world, whether it may respect the purposes of commerce, or general convenience and security; for by its means any sum of money may at pleasure be conveyed to any part of the nation or empire.

A fourth resource is the excellent plan we have devised for the suppression of smuggling, being such

such an one, as has never yet been thought of for the purpose. A fifth resource of great consequence is, the remodification and improvement of the different taxes. A sixth resource is, the substitution of adequate and unexceptionable taxes, for insufficient or disadvantageous ones. What under this head we have proposed, to wit, the consolidated malt tax, or the transfer to malt alone, of all the duties now imposed on the different products of malt, is, we trust, the most happy design of finance, that has ever been announced to the world, and a full proof of the respect and authority due to us, in regard to the promises, and the assurances we give, of the easy and ready redress of the finances of the kingdom by means of adequate exertions. A seventh resource of great consequence is, the superior mode of management of the revenue, which we propose to introduce into the department of the finances. An eighth resource is, an amassment of savings, which will be prejudicial to no interests whatever, whether they are private or public. A ninth resource is, beneficial taxation, or the actual imposition of some new taxes, which will really be very beneficial to the subject, as we have shown in different parts of our works. A tenth resource is what we style a contributary tax of the different parts of the empire, on account of the exemption, which we have in our proposed redress of the finances, offered in favour of the subject, from different

ferent duties and taxes, which he pays at present, and on account of the various services and advantages of that system of public welfare, which we propose to accomplish, and extend to the remotest parts of the empire. The annual contributary tax of the empire is proposed to be the payment of some the most small pittance imaginable by all individuals in general, residing within the empire, with, however, those exceptions which are proper; the payment, however, being so very trifling, that no person who makes it, can be sensible of its loss. But, from the number of contributors, it will be productive of a very considerable revenue. It is farther proposed to be established upon a regular plan; to be associated with certain salutary views, explained in their proper place, answering those of the ninth resource of beneficial taxation; and thus to return infinitely greater emoluments than will compensate the small mite of its contributions. It was not worth while, in respect of its importance to our proposed redress of the finances, to explain so much at large, as we have done, the present resource of finance: it is however proper to add, that the general management of the national expences, which we have proposed in various different respects to introduce through the kingdom, being extended to the exterior part of the empire, in respect of the particular public expences under its own direction, would produce a considerable saving.

saving, which might at least be thrown in for a few years, as a contributary aid for redressing the finances of the mother country. The eleventh resource, which, however, we propose with the diffidence due to national prejudices on the subject, is the sale of Gibraltar to the Spaniards : for, after much inquiry and investigation of the subject, since we first thought of it on the present account, we are convinced we have fully shown in different parts of our works, that Gibraltar is of no real service to the empire ; on the contrary, that it is greatly injurious to our commerce, and has, since our possession of it, only been productive of an entailment of war upon the nation. The twelfth resource, which we have proposed, is what we call the Indian revenue, which we engage, without making it at all burdensome, to procure from the East Indies, with its free concurrence and assent, by means of a plan of setting its affairs right ; of introducing and extending to it a perfect system of public welfare ; and of liberating it from those constant, unremitting violences and calamities of either interior rapine and oppression, or of wars, or of both, which that ill-fated nation never ceases to experience at the hands of this country.

The total amount of the revenue, that would arise from the foregoing articles, is really immense. Not only is it sufficient to redress pecuniary grievances of the kingdom : by its means we engage to

to awaken and invigorate, to accomplish, and carry the national improvements to their proper heights of perfection and dignity; to support effectually, and as far as is necessary to complete, or to multiply, and disperse through the kingdom all the different establishments of benevolence and charity, which are at present, in general, either too weak, or too few to do much good, or are dwindling into insignificance; to remove all national grievances within the kingdom; and to reward all men of practical merit, and the different officers and servants of government, including the soldier and the sailor, with a proper recompence for their services to the state, and with an income adequate to their several stations.

The sixth science respecting the public welfare, is mental civilization, as already defined. Under this science, we exhibit altogether a new object to the world; and, as we trust, a spectacle the most splendid and glorious of all improvements, of whatever kind or tendency, the perfection of humanity, or the general means of making man, according to the different stations of society, perfect in his mental abilities, and good in his dispositions. This, of all public objects whatever, is the most interesting; as it furnishes the means of rendering man most perfect and adequate to promote and advance the welfare of the community, and, at the same time, supersedes the necessity of the various

modern devices of criminal punishment ; and, as it is still more serviceable to the individual than to the public, who, in the adequate advancement of his different mental faculties, feelings, and affections, and in the due regulation of his conduct and sentiments, experiences the promotion of his private interests, and his truest happiness. This desideratum for advancing and completing the inestimable interests of that, which we may call perfected humanity, we have chiefly been able to deduce and establish, 1st, From our successful investigation of the different parts of the mind, as they exist in nature ; which constitutes, as we may call it, a discovery much superior to that of the circulation of the blood by Doctor Harvey.

2dly, From actual ascertainment, that the human mind in all its several component parts, is beyond belief, universally created, competent in ability, and good in disposition, and at the same time, sure and certain, only with the rarest exceptions, to conform to proper instruction, when this is duly applied to it. Such an happy effect the immortal Alfred experienced by employing the same means, which we in general imitate, and endeavour to carry into effect. This happy effect only does not take place in general, as we have shown in our different works, owing to the inadequate instruction afforded the mind through society in general ; from the ignorance, inability,

misapplication, or inadequacy of parents ; of companions ; of school-masters ; of books ; of colleges ; of criminal punishments ; of the modes of learning the means for acquiring a livelihood ; of experience, acquired in life by mixing with men and manners ; and of the various lessons, which those and other means afford to mankind.

3dly, By the assistance of various numerous, suitable, and effectual devices, from cheap, short, winning, engaging documents, which we propose to be conveyed to all minds in general, for the purpose of adequate instruction ; from a sufficient information and supply of all necessary useful knowledge ; from various new arts or means, or old ones improved, of teaching things in general ; from applying instruction directly to the proper parts of the mind, and with adequate power impressing it upon these ; from the agencies proposed, such as the district assemblies, or the district agencies, paying a general regard to the support of mental civilization ; and in some cases, from the foregoing, or appropriated agencies for the purpose, established here and there, for the more particular cultivation and advancement of the minds of young persons, otherwise destitute of the proper means for effecting the task : and from the institution of different public forms, but unexceptionable, in support of virtue and good conduct.

4thly, From various designs, which may be brought forwards, of advancing, forming, and maturing the human mind in an adequate manner and degree, by the real employment and actual exercise of the several parts, which constitute the mind, in all such respects, as are adviseable or necessary ; similar to what are in use, and by us proposed for providing and accomplishing the body with all its several useful and ornamental species of various different kinds of corporeal performances and movements.

All the different methods, contained under the foregoing heads, so far as may be adviseable or necessary, as the immortal Alfred has in a great measure done before us, we propose to put in practice, and extend most minutely through society, so as either in the means, or in the effects of the means, to reach every heart, and to be directly, or by example, or by both, impressed upon all minds in general ; and thus, with very little trouble, and in the most agreeable manner to make the mind in general in its several abilities, and in its several dispositions, perfect, as it respects humanity, according to the difference of stations in society. Nay, to make use of every possible assistance on this occasion, we likewise propose, that all the great and powerful doctrines, which peculiarly pertain to the advancement and formation of the mind in its proper perfection, should, no less than the moral regulations

regulations of it, be placed under the patronage of religion, and be advanced by the co-operation of the church; and so far as is proper, in some measure interwoven with the public form of worship, in order to enrich this, and render it more serviceable and engaging.

Thus, we promise to supply the public and different individuals, even the most inferior, with the advantages and blessings, which flow from a proper cultivation and information of the mind. According to their stations and capacities, we promise to furnish them with adequate power and ability, or with the use of the different intellectual faculties of man; with justness of perception and sensation; with adequate embellishments and accomplishments; and with a proper cultivation of their taste, so far as may be necessary to soften their minds to that humanity and fellow love, which are the surest foundation as well as the most excellent superstructure of society. We promise to direct right the violence of the human passions, and compose their boisterous elements to the proper good of the individual, and to the welfare of the public; and cause them, like their kindred commotions in nature, to preserve and increase the salubrity and fertility of society. We will intimately and insensibly blend with all hearts, the moral virtues of the mind, and the duties of the nicer feelings; and cause the most unfavourable and barren soils for

production to procreate, and with full harvest bear, the natural and congenial virtues and duties of man. Thus, even thus, we will make man worthy of his creation, in himself active, great, consummate, and perfect for public and private welfare, and not less so for his individual happiness and pleasure, and equal to that splendid and happy state of society, which God intended for his use and for his enjoyment.

The eighth practical science is that of religion. Our extensive labours for the public good, we trust, are in regard of this subject as highly distinguished, as we wish the clergy should be, in the advancement of civilization, and national perfection: and in no earthly or sordid manner, inconsistent with the purity and sacredness of their character, do our proposals, when they are rightly understood, attempt to render the clergy subservient to the support of public welfare. In the first place, for the advantage and emolument of the church, we propose, by means of the happy opportunity, which the redress of the finances permits, in an increased revenue of the church, to make a proper and requisite addition to the salaries of all those clergymen, whose incomes are inadequate to the respect and dignity of their Divine station; and, in general, by various improvements and services, which we have elsewhere specified, to render their profession in all respects agreeable and desirable, dignified

dignified and independent: nor by these designs do we attempt to subtract from the larger salaries, appended to the different preferments of the church, only wishing with the learned bishop of Landaff, to remove all such superfluous sinecures, as in no respect contribute to the service and dignity of religion: for we are strongly convinced of the advantage arising to the public from a munificent support of the liberal professions.

Secondly, We propose a plan for commuting the tithes, which we expect will be perfectly agreeable to the church, as liberating it from a dependence on a mode of provision, which is perfectly inconsistent with its dignity, oppressive upon the public, and in every respect improper. The plan consists in a fair appretiation of the annual amount of the tithes of the kingdom, and in a convenient, regular, and certain mode of yearly payment of the value of the same to the clergy; in Parliament making good, if it were possible to occur, any deficiency, which from the said appretiation may arise in the income of the church; in Parliament every twelve years, at the public expence, making an adequate addition to the income of the church, according to any contingent rise in the price of provisions; in continuing the tithes upon the different articles, according to which they are usually paid, and in rating these afresh every three years, so far as is necessary, to accommodate any altera-

tions, which may take place with regard to them, and which, we can shew, may readily be accommodated ; in making the different townships and parishes for ever answerable for their annual payments, as at the origin of the proposed commutation, substituted in lieu of their respective portions of the tithes. This plan is farther proposed to be a revocable resignation on the part of the clergy, in case the conditions agreed to are not fulfilled, which case, however, can hardly occur, by the verdict of a special jury held in the city of Westminster : and it may readily and accurately be both carried into effect and conducted in its future progress by the new agencies, which we have proposed for the general service of the community.

Our proposals also greatly advance the different services in general, which at the present time society receives from religion : they strongly recommend such a general revisal and extension of the religious establishment of this country, as may remove all dissentions from it, supported on sentiment and reason ; and they reform any abuses, which have arisen. But they in a much more extensive manner render the clergy serviceable to the interests of society, than they are in their present line of public service, by investing, as we before proposed, under their trust and charge, for supporting the general propagation and efficiency of them, all the different views and doc-

doctrines of mental civilization. In doing this, we surely shall not debase the clergy; nor cast any other blush upon their snowy vestments, than the purple dignity, which their effectual co-operation in advancing the perfection of humanity will necessarily in the issue reflect. This proposal cannot be objectionable to them, when they recollect that the late king of Prussia rendered his clergy, in some manner subservient to the advancement of the national improvements of his dominions. While thus we mean to be zealous advocates for the church, and the effectual promoters of its welfare, we are not less so for a free concession to the different protestant sects of that freedom of religious sentiment, which shall not exclude them from the emoluments, for which they at present contend: nay, along with any public aid they enjoy at present, a proper provision, in our opinion, should be allowed by the nation for the support of the clergy of most of the different sects, and of their wives and children, when they experience poverty, in consideration of the common religion, whose dignity and honour they support.

The eighth practical science of public welfare is that of medicine; but concerning this we refer the reader to a subsequent part of the work, where, by means of our proposed Franklenian improvement of medicine, he will find we have advanced medicine to be the effectual guardian of

health, and the most universal and certain friend of man oppressed with sickness and disease.

However, in this place we shall notice the great national improvement of the art of farriery, hitherto so much neglected, as it respects stock of all kinds, which, from the extensive and practical attention we have given the subject, we engage to accomplish. The means, in general, which we propose to make use of are, 1st, To point out the several signs and marks, which in general distinguish the beginnings of the different diseases of stock, and to prescribe the care and treatment, which then timely employed, soon, in general, restore their health. The farmer is very capable of managing this part of the art; for his eye, daily versed in stock, is remarkably quick in observing such signs, as evince the beginnings of their disorders; and his constant and assiduous care in looking after his cattle will almost always lead him to attend to them. 2dly, To determine by dissection, as we have ourselves done, to a very great extent, what the diseases of stock, as they occur, actually are; all which we have in farriery the opportunity of examining after death. 3dly, To ascertain the particular respective symptoms by a clear and easy description, which attend the different disorders of stock, so far as the former can be observed in mute animals; and we trust, our ability for ascertaining them in the manner required, will not be questioned,

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from a perusal of the first volume of the Franklenian improvement of medicine. 4thly, To determine the several operations, effects, and proper employment of the means and medicines at present employed in the cure of the disorders of stock, and to add to them, as they are approved of, all improvements, which will meliorate the practice of farriery, more especially many, which we are sure we can adduce from medicine of the highest importance.

The ninth science is that of national improvement. Our labours, in regard to this subject, are very extensive and important: however we can only, in this place, give a general account of them. We have ourselves explored very many important national improvements; and among these that of the perfection of the practical agriculture of the kingdom. We have no doubt, the magnitude of the object being considered, but we could readily carry the same into effect, and supply the nation with provisions, to moderate their present very exorbitant prices, and at the same time considerably increase the national wealth: and what improvements we have proposed, we have engaged to execute; which is of great consequence.

We might have been contented with these achievements, as unquestionably very great, if we had not been strongly desirous of pursuing the most effectual measures to complete the practical science

science of national improvement. We have, therefore, opened the whole of the science, and have endeavoured to render it a public pursuit, as the most important of all objects whatever. We have most strenuously endeavoured to bring to light the knowledge, little or great, of every thing beneficial to society ; and have accordingly, in contrast to the arts of embellishment, distinguished and presented useful knowledge to the world, as the subject, which of all others most deserves attention and cultivation : at the same time, as a peculiar art, we have devised the proper means of, forming the most suitable plans for giving such knowledge due effect : and lastly, we have taken no less pains to explore the most effectual means of carrying these plans into effect through the kingdom or the empire at large. This important and triple view we have carried to its farthest extent, having ascertained and matured all the principles proper to each of the subdivisions, and formed them into one system of the greatest importance to society, which is equal to the accomplishment of the most arduous and extensive of the national improvements, and which we may call the practical art of improvement.

We have explained all the several means, which are essential to the accomplishment of this art. In the ascertainment of these, we have been no less minute and cautious, than comprehensive and spirited :

rited: and we have in the strongest terms insisted on the necessity of determining well the certainty, sufficiency, and validity of every national improvement, and of its different component parts, before it should on a large scale be adopted, and attempted in practice. We have evinced the proper mode, as well as the utility of an assiduous and adequate cultivation of the national improvements, in respect of general practicability, and even descended to explain the several processes of the mind, with their respective views and regulations, requisite in the investigation of them. And for such an important cultivation, infinitely too expensive to the individuals, who will ever chuse to undertake it, we have shown how ready government should be to supply the means, and also where it may find these without putting the nation to expence. Nay, we have proposed, that government should be provided, and enlarged with an adequate board of effective national improvement, and have made this one of the principal departments of the state. In respect to it, we have more especially recommended, that due attention should be bestowed on all the different objects of national improvement: that an adequate number of cultivators, properly superintended, should be employed: and that the different agencies should duly communicate to the proposed national board of improvement, proper information of all peculiar or not general improvements,

ments, which are practised within their respective districts: for by this means the board would collect a large stock of important knowledge for the general benefit of the kingdom, or enjoy a most favourable opportunity of procuring, as it might occasionally want the same.

Having thus taken sufficient care, by various and singular devices for the purpose, that useful knowledge should to its proper extent be explored and ascertained in a practical view, so as to be rendered suitable for general use and service: we farther explored the proper means by which it should be generally communicated and made known through the kingdom at large, along with the apposite processes, agreeably to which every great or small improvement might be carried into effect with the most favourable advantages. However, the work was much too imperfect as yet to be left to itself, and we next provided the several means requisite for its general adoption, and accomplishment through the nation. We have, therefore, by various means, associated the system of national improvement with the busnels of Parliament, with that of the executive government, and the proposed district assemblies, with that of all societies, cultivating any kind of improvement, and of new societies proposed for civilization, with that of the gentry of the kingdom, and all individuals in general, for the purpose of giving the national improve-

improvements universal effect, and extending them every where by means of the most permanent establishments. In their favour we have advanced all the means of general encouragement; proposed just rewards for merit; called for the assistance and influence of government; and provided different adequate agencies, so far as their assistance might be wanting, through the kingdom, both to carry them into effect, and to superintend their subsequent tenour.

But we have not considered the foregoing different labours as sufficient, in respect to the accomplishment of national improvement; nor by any means have left the object short of its full completion, so far as this lay in our power. We have, therefore, provided so great a capital of money, that the nation, too probably, will not have the magnanimity to employ it, for the purpose of extending, in an adequate manner, its different improvements: we have shown, how along with such a capital an adequate number of workmen may be procured for the same purpose; how their labours, and all labour, even that of cattle, may become productive of the proposed good effects with the greatest certainty, and in the most advantageous manner, both to private and public welfare; nay, in respect of agriculture, we have designs by us, which would accomplish and combine the national

improvements along with the complete and general embellishment of the kingdom.

The comprehensive view of national improvement, which we have now sketched, is as ably supported, upon the foundations laid for carrying it into execution, as it is universal and extensive: nor is there, therefore, any room to apprehend the unsuccessful event of it, when attempted in practice. In fact, the design is not novel; for in ancient times there are numerous examples of the accomplishments of national improvements upon the most large and extensive scales; such as even the irrigation of a very large part of Egypt by means of the Nile, at a vast expence and labour diverted into an infinite number of different conveyances for the purpose. Nor are we, because we are great and elevated in our extensive views of national improvement, therefore unacquainted with the advantage, and with the frequent necessity of prosecuting these with prudence, and moderation. We would by no means urge them forwards with either haste, or impatience, but, when requisite, gradually advance them in slow succession. The comprehensive views of them, which we have chalked out, we are convinced, are practicable; but a very moderate advancement of the national improvements will more than proportionably contribute to their progress and completion. Some small degree of cultivation, some but indifferent

means of accomplishing them, some little money, extended for advancing them, as a great national object, would soon produce very important consequences, and terminate in the most extensive general effects. Such, as principles of fermentation, work upon the numerous persons interested, upon the virtuous and emulous, and upon the people at large. The spring small, where it is sued, would be powerful in widening and replenishing its channel.

Finally, Should general approbation sanction the employment of it for the purpose, we have, in order to advance the national improvements in the extensive manner we recommend, provided an immense stock of wealth, which is equal to the capital of the national debt; and, therefore, as we suppose, adequate to the accomplishment of the national improvements, or at least to the advancement of these, so far as may be thought adviseable at the present period. However, we have proposed to invest it solely, or principally, in promoting the practical perfection of the agriculture of the kingdom; and we have shown, by what means the public money may, in way of mortgage, be advanced upon this important design, with the greatest benefit as well as the most perfect security. We have proposed, that the State should, under the superintendence of proper agencies, and the proposed board, or boards of national improvement,

ment, advance in way of mortgage, as already mentioned, the capital provided upon the greater and substantial improvements of agriculture, such as draining wet lands in an effectual and durable manner, enriching grounds with large quantities of manures, amending different soils by suitable admixtures, flooding extensive districts of ground, planting timber for the melioration of climate, making good live fences, and the improvement of waste grounds; and that the borrowers should engage, under the superintendence mentioned, to invest and employ the money in the above and similar improvements, according to the most advisable means of accomplishing them. The capital proposed may be procured, instead of paying off the national debt, through means of our intended reform of the finances; by lending the monies hereby procured to those, who wish to make substantial improvements of agriculture; and from the interest accruing by the loans, standing against the discharge of the public dividends. For no sound reasoning is possible to be advanced, why the public money should not be accommodated to the foregoing intention; much rather than invested, and lost for ever in bayonets, cannon, the destruction of mankind, and an endless succession of wars.

The tenth practical science, respecting public welfare, is that of commerce; with the improvement of which we have not, in a direct manner, attempted

attempted to intermeddle; and in like manner ministers of state would wisely decline interfering with it. For, unquestionably, commerce carried forward by the activity and enterprising spirit of the British merchant, requires no ministerial assistance; when left to its internal resources, it most effectually promotes its own advancement; then naturally it shoots into its free and proper congenial forms. However, as to what direct aids commerce requires from the hands of Government, the perfect system of public welfare, which we propose to introduce, is surely infinitely more capable of affording them, and would advance them with far greater sincerity, liberality, and ability, than the imperfect, and inefficient administrations of modern times. The system would, in various respects, be most singularly and extensively serviceable to the commercial interests. It would be very advantageous, as favouring the cheapness of the national productions and fabrications. In the proposed advancement of the national improvements, it would re-animate the industry of the nation with a new supply of life and vigour; and it would cause an infinite increase of the different articles of national produce, which come to market. While the taxes are multiplying on every hand, and more and more every year, interfere with trade, and cramp and destroy commerce, although slowly, yet with a certain fatality; our proposals of redressing the

finances will liberate industry from those pernicious enemies, and timely intervene to prevent its ruin. But our proposals have a much more extensive influence, in favour of the interests of commerce, as they supersede the necessity, in general, of levying duties upon the exports and imports of the kingdom. Thus they would, in a short period after the commencement of their operation, greatly facilitate the mutual free intercourse of trade between the different parts of the empire, and finally might be employed to blend the nations of the world in an universal liberal and unrestrained commerce.—

“ Oh ! ye commercial world ! weigh well blessings like those, and allow us due respect and honour for the services, which we propose in your favour, and that of the public. Ministers of state, when they serve you most directly, only afford you the advantages ratified by treaties, which you fully enjoyed before, or they send you upon wild exploits, beyond the most distant shores of North America, or they involve you, along with the nation, in a constant succession of wars, which are so very destructive to your interests, that the proportion of any service you receive, sinks in your loss, as a drop of water disappears in the immensity of the ocean. While government affests you, it preys upon the public: while it pampers you with the offals it can spare, it makes many costly meals at your expence: and in the end it is certain to de-

vour you, though it will only do this in the last place, after it has devoured the public."

The eleventh practical science respecting public welfare is that of politics. The various different parts of this important subject, as they lie scattered in books, and many of them no where ascertained, we have in the work on the royal regeneration of Great Britain, collected into a general system; a design, which had never before been attempted. The validity of this system, as it points out the political interests of the nation, has been strongly confirmed by a long series of subsequent political events; we therefore may, with great confidence, recite some of the general views, which it inculcates: for if they had been properly attended to, they would have prevented all those various disturbances, which have since unfortunately interfered with the peace of the nation. In the first place, we strenuously advised on the part of Great Britain, and especially in the East Indies, and upon the Continent, a cessation from that busy political intrigue, and interference, which have distinguished the government of Great Britain for a very long period, and unquestionably have produced the three last wars, preceding the American war, in which the nation has been involved. In proof of this assertion, we have shown that those different wars originated not in the political wisdom, and foresight of government, but in motives directly the

reverse, from the political restlessness and levity of our courts, and actually have produced the present situation of Continental affairs, which we are at present attempting to change, although for the worse, even by engaging again in war; that the House of Brandenburgh, in the writings of its late sovereign, has, where it was in any part questionable, confirmed the charge; and in proof of the continuance of the same political principles, we predicted all the various events of hostile alarms, and of actual war, which have since marked the occurrences of the present day.

Secondly, We remonstrated, with the most earnest exertion of our feeble abilities, against the late measure of obliging the Dutch by actual compulsion, to contract the present alliance with this country. The connection thus obtained, was a very wrong measure, as founded on a most ungenerous and illiberal principle, which is at all times wholly inconsistent with good policy, and never answers in the end; for it could not have been founded on a worse principle than compulsion.

The event has confirmed the truth of the im-policy of such conduct. The Dutch are still dissatisfied; and are almost ready a second time to rise against the Stadholder. Alliances are never of long continuance, but as they are beneficial, and not injurious to the parties: as a proof that the present alliance cannot be durable on the basis of reciprocal

reciprocal advantage, the Dutch, who have so long enjoyed continued and uninterrupted peace with all the different powers of Europe, except Great Britain, are now obliged to prepare and arm for war, as frequently as ourselves. This circumstance, with the interruption of their trade and commerce, can by no means be satisfactory to the people of Holland; and as Lord Aukland has fully experienced in his perplexing negotiations with regard to the subject, it has very greatly offended them. Nor can we preserve the present connection with Holland any otherwise than by the assistance of the King of Prussia, and by paying so high a price for it, as the loss of our most useful friends, and the imminent risque, or the actual provocations of war, against the most illustrious powers of Europe.

Thirdly, We advised our court, without molestation on its part, to permit Russia and the Emperor to take possession of Turkey in Europe, which great event taking place, we showed, would not be prejudicial, but advantageous to the interests of Great Britain; as the advancement of Russia in Turkey, and the civilization this would promote through the extensive dominions of the Empress, would be favourable to our commerce; as the important and peculiar advantage of Great Britain to the naval communication of Russia between Petersburgh and Constantinople, would strengthen the natural connection otherwise subsist-

ing between the two nations ; and as the formation of Russia and Turkey into a large empire, extending into the Mediterranean, would be a very valuable counterbalance in our favour, against the present formidable power of France and Spain, as they are allied against us.

Another very important motive we urged in support of this policy was, that the House of Brandenburg would, by such an aggrandisement of Russia, be most effectually debarred for ever from succeeding in any ambitious views of aggrandising itself at the expence of the numerous small states and inferior nations, which on all sides surround it. For we shall not enter into the consideration, whether Russia, being in no small degree weakened and exhausted by a war of some length, carried on at a great distance, against the Turks, the present may not appear to Prussia, as a very favourable opportunity for extending its dominions, adding to their strength, where weak, and perhaps rendering them square and compact. The apprehension of such hostile views against the adjoining smaller states, is too well grounded, in the present universal state of rapacious ambition, on the possibility of the completion of them. A disposition to them is manifested in the present urgency of Prussia, to add Thorn and Dantzig to its dominions ; Denmark seems to dread them in the intimacy of its present alliance with the court of Petersburgh : and the facility

facility with which Prussia can accomplish the most extensive views of this kind, the late rapid conquest of Holland by its troops, evinces beyond a doubt. A security therefore seems much wanted, and very necessary against the danger of Prussia's becoming too strong for the safety of the smaller neighbouring states, more especially as its power and extent of country are great from its large and recent acquisitions of territory. It is very impolitic for Great Britain, therefore, to pursue the most effectual measures she can devise for aggrandising the House of Brandenburg; or to stop that exaltation of the Russian empire, which will in time prevent a dangerous increase of the power of Prussia, at the expence of its adjoining neighbours. From such an advancement of the Russian empire, no apprehensions need be entertained for the safety of the House of Brandenburg. The numerous small states of Germany, Denmark, and Holland, and France itself, from a natural connection of interest with Prussia, are too much concerned ever to allow Russia and the Emperor of Germany to weaken or overpower the House of Brandenburg; and they are fully adequate to withstand the latter powers, united for any hostile purposes.

In the sixth place, we earnestly urged, that this country should immediately form an intimate union with Spain, which the times have lately favoured, and would have secured the success of the

measures we pointed out for establishing the connection. The wisdom and advantage of the policy we recommended, has since been manifested in the late danger of a rupture with the court of Madrid, and in the absurdity of interfering with the great and darling interests of Spain, in respect to South America. In the seventh place, we recommended different measures to be pursued, that we might not offend and cause a general combination of the different maritime powers against the interests of Great Britain. The propriety and importance of this advice manifests itself, when we view in what manner the maritime powers of the Baltic, France, Spain, and America are disposed towards this country, and on what a slender thread depends the conversion of the Dutch from allies, into the most hostile foes, ardent to retaliate against Great Britain the late great and humiliating indignities they have experienced.

On the whole we have concluded, that modern politics are not a practical science of public welfare, but in every view a most fatal and destructive mischief and calamity to the interests of Great Britain, of Europe, and of the whole world; that the nations which adhere to them, consult neither their own interests, nor those of their neighbours; but that they commit suicide upon their respective countries, and are the rancorous murderers of other nations. Natural and Divine politics, which na-
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tions were by infinite Wisdom destined to pursue, are plain and simple. They are, 1st, Not to injure or destroy one another, but to cultivate, acquire, and preserve the mutual esteem, friendship, assistance, and service of one another.

2dly, Not to pursue war, as the means of obtaining such advantages, it being in general contrary and opposite to those views, and certain to prevent their accomplishment, nor to be resorted to with such motives, at any time, unless in the most urgent cases; but to obtain those advantages by other means, among which fair representation and negotiation, time and patience, a liberal and generous policy, are most competent, instead of having recourse to open violence and hostilities.

3dly, For all nations within themselves to promote and advance in the most earnest and extensive manner, their own improvements and means of public welfare; by these and the foregoing methods alone, to enable private individuals under their protection to barter their labours and commodities in the most advantageous manner with foreign nations; thus each nation to desist, by means of the interference of modern politics, from urging and outstretching commerce for the purpose of acquiring public revenue, in order to carry on an endless succession of wars, there existing, at least in

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Great Britain, no reason or motive for such wars, nor for any additional taxation. Thus nations should resign commerce to itself and to the world at large, instead of altogether neglecting national improvement, by endless taxation imposing every possible disadvantage upon their commerce, and at last wholly destroying it.

The twelfth practical science of public welfare is that of war. As to any proposals respecting direct improvements in the art of war, there is as little occasion and necessity, as there is an absolute want of power and ability on our parts, to improve upon its horrors. It is too true, boundless systems of defensive fortifications, and the rapid, incessant offensive impulses of the military statesmen of the present day, greatly outshine any designs of improvement, which we can offer in regard to the present science of public welfare; and present a grand and splendid scene, highly gratifying to the views of glory and ambition. Notwithstanding, though of a contrary tendency, our practical proposals on this subject are highly serviceable to our country, and possess more than an equal share of real and genuine merit. We have proposed a plan for supporting the national militia in time of peace, which a most respectable general officer assures us, would be of great utility to the service, and would considerably reduce the present expence of their maintenance. The plan proposes in general to keep up

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the adjutants, serjeants and corporals in constant pay, but to distribute according to different districts, and employ the serjeants and corporals, superintended by the adjutants in these districts, for the sake of occasionally, when convenient, instructing the common allotted men in their exercise, two or three of them together at a time; and at proper leisure seasons, to collect and exercise them together in a central place of the district. This would prevent the great expence, public loss, vast inconvenience, and bad moral consequences, which follow from embodying them every year. The plan may, as is thought proper, be readily extended, as a general means of learning the military exercise to all persons capable of bearing arms.

Before the national assembly of France had adopted a similar device, we recommended, as the most adviseable mode of preventing the frequency of our national wars, that the power of making war should be lodged in the House of Commons, the other two departments of government concurring with them in the measure. Such a restriction, at least, is become absolutely necessary, on account of the very numerous wars of the nation, in which we always are, as we have shewn before, the aggressors. The power of making war should be placed in that department of government, where it will most slowly, and with the greatest deliberation be exercised. In peace the sword should be laid

laid by ; for when it is always kept in the hand, and ever in the sight of ministers of state, it will frequently and unnecessarily be drawn. The advantage to the nation of avoiding war is unquestionable. We have shown, that we cannot acquire any adequate return, but may be considerable losers from war ; that the present situation of Europe is in general very propitious to an almost perpetual peace, on the terms of *uti possidetis* ; and that Great Britain ought to think itself singularly happy in a general and lasting peace, settled upon these conditions. Thus the royal power would part with a prerogative, which it would seldom or ever employ ; nor, if it was really oftener employed than it is at present, is it desirable in itself, for the purpose of exercising it. If kings possess the feelings, and are actuated by the principles of human beings, they will be thankful on account of the deprivation of a privilege, which, of all others they enjoy, must be the most inimical to their tranquillity and happiness.

The genius of the different successive administrations or governments of this country is in general unenterprising. It is, perhaps, never distinguished by any hardy exploit in the arts of peace : and it usually is almost as feeble and inefficient, as it superintends and directs the conduct of war. The nation itself is military ; but it possesses the sinews of war in its soldiers and sailors and their commanders,

manders, not in the abilities of its ministers of state, who, though they are inspired with the ancient Roman delight in war, are not endowed with the military ability of this nation. The public genius of enterprise, which, under the practical science of public agencies we have proposed to mix and blend with government, would remove the defect, and supply this great want of executive address: and future administrations become equal both to conduct national improvement in time of peace, and to direct with success its military operations in war. Thus our active, brave, and intrepid soldiers, sailors, and commanders would receive their orders from men qualified to frame and to judge concerning them. They would always in the happiest manner employ their natural intrepidity and undaunted valour to conquer for their country, and increase its fame and glory, while, according to our proposed redress of the finances, they would be provided for in an honourable manner, adequate to their merits and to their services.

In the foregoing views of our different labours, instituted for promoting the interests of our country, and for effecting and accomplishing which, we personally engage ourselves; in those views we behold fully displayed the numerous and great public services, which may be derived from the different practical sciences, constituting the important system of public welfare, proposed by us. The conclusions,

fions, which we wish to draw from the consideration of them, and to press upon the public attention, are principally two: 1st, That there remain not only as yet unpossessed by man, but till very lately unknown to him, an immense and almost an infinite number of different great blessings, benefits, and advantages, which are indispensable to public welfare and private felicity, are intended by God for the benefit of society, are easily accomplished; and for want of which the nation in general suffers various great and numerous inconveniences, distresses, and miseries. It is the general acquisition of those inestimable blessings and advantages in one combination, which ought to occupy the public attention, and not whether this or that great man is a good or a bad minister; for they surpass beyond human conception, the services of the common customary measures of modern governments, supersede the consideration of the hackneyed proceedings of statesmen, and united, form that great, effective, and comprehensive design, which constitutes one undertaking, sufficient at the same time, both to set right all public affairs, and to complete the national welfare. This undertaking we have formed and devised; and, as we have said before, we engage to carry it into execution: and if any candid person will point out any defects in the design of it, as we are obliged to lay it in a general view before the public, we will supply them.

them. 2dly, That the advancement of the practical sciences of public welfare, which have been shown to afford such great and important services, should, as the most momentous of all public objects whatever, be regularly established into a system, and incorporated into a proper department, as a component, and most illustrious and distinguishing part of the government of Great Britain; and those sciences most extensively and effectually cultivated, and the great and numerous services they are able to afford, diffused and accomplished through society in the most unlimited and universal manner. From the neglect of regularly uniting, and as it were ingrafting those practical sciences with government, society has in all ages, in a very imperfect manner, experienced the several great uses, and services they afford, and seldom enjoyed them more than a short period in any state of tolerable perfection. When, notwithstanding the want of public aid and assistance, and in spite of infinite impediments and obstructions, they have broke forth, and shone upon humanity: the brilliant dome, which they have formed, has never yet in any sense been complete, but has consisted of a short-lived sky, unstable and uncertain; and has, after a little time, been swept away, and succeeded by storms and darkness. But the different practical sciences respecting public welfare, established into a system, and incorporated in a proper department of state,

state, as the principal objects of government, will become in society, as it were, a planetary world ! They will proceed upon few, but upon simple, great, effectual, and eternal movements ! They will regulate the interests of mankind in their comprehensive orbit, according to the laws of spherical harmony ! They will, with the unbounded effulgence of light itself, collect and distribute, in their several proper and different elements and combinations, all the blessings intended by Providence for the benefit of man ; and present the grand spectacle of a perfect world, adjusted to, actuated by, and depending upon the sure and certain primary impulses of Divine power !

CONCLUSION.

THE present work has been announced to the Reader, as intended to consist of four chapters. However, from want of time, and the extraordinary length of the foregoing chapter, we must abandon the design of extending the work to so great a size. But we cannot leave a subject so very important and interesting, as national perfection must necessarily be, without making a general address to the public in its favour, and advancing adequate arguments, why the nation should adopt and carry it into effect. We would, if our powers of language were sufficient, exert ourselves on this occasion with a dignity and majesty, equal to the cause of national perfection; for we almost believe, that having for a great number of years, on account of our country, been the true votaries of public virtue and philanthropy, these, as celestial beings, and spiritual existences, have, from our sincere worship of them, inspired us with the foregoing system, and commanded us to deliver it to our countrymen, in a manner cor-

responding to its intrinsic merits, and its inexpressible importance to the interests of the community. We have at least long perceived the influence of those celestial beings upon our bosom, and are still enraptured with their sacred impulses. We, therefore, as their vicegerent, ascend their throne ; attempt to make a public speech suitable to their illustrious sovereignty ; and in their name address parliament and all our countrymen in general :

MY LORDS AND GENTLEMEN,

Lest we may not succeed in obtaining from your hands the complete state of terrestrial perfection, which, as the votary of public virtue and philanthropy, we solicit, having described the means of accomplishing it in the foregoing chapter ; we shall divide our address to you, and in this part of it only call your attention to three of the most interesting sciences for promoting public welfare. For these we apprehend you cannot but approve and sanction, on account of their importance, and highly interesting nature to yourselves, to all men whatever, to society, and to the world, while they have at the same time no connection with any fears, respecting the bugbear of regeneration. My Lords and Gentlemen, papers and accounts, respecting war and burthensome impositions on the people, have hitherto, in general, only been laid before you ; but the speech, which we are commissioned

to make you, proposes to you the plans and means, by the arts of peace, of multiplying and increasing the most genuine and inestimable blessings and riches of patriotism and humanity. Permit us, therefore, to call your attention to the three sciences of public welfare, which we stile the universal sciences of benevolence ; for we apprehend these and the benefits and services, which they afford, should immediately be improved and advanced by you to their most complete state of perfection, and distributed universally through the society, they being objects of the greatest national consequence, which hitherto have not been cultivated in a public view, anywise corresponding to their great importance. If they had, they would have been productive of the most happy consequences.

Previously, before we proceed in explaining the sciences, to which we allude, permit us to observe, that our proposed attempt of introducing national perfection is chiefly objected to, because it would take up too much of your time : for the Critical Review, with great candour, grants to all our different plans concerning it, the merit of just observation and good sense, and admits the universal practicability of them, with this exception, that to accomplish them, would be too laborious a work for Parliament. The accomplishment, however, of the perfection of the three universal sciences of benevolence will give you, my Lords and Gentle-

men, no trouble: for it is a great philosophical undertaking, which requires only pecuniary aids from you, and finally your sanction and approbation. But notwithstanding the above opinion of the Critical Reviewer, we assure you, an attention of a few months to the purpose would be sufficient to introduce, in general, national perfection; and we dare engage to execute and conduct it under your superintendance, in such a manner, if we had the requisite means, as would give you very little trouble, its nature of the objects being weighed. Besides, while such an important design was in hand, the present little subjects of daily debates would seldom occur, or interfere with the business of national perfection, or your time in general.

The three universal sciences of benevolence, which we denominate to be agriculture, mental civilization, and medicine, should at the public expence be cultivated and improved as materially and extensively as possible, and the knowledge of them, and the various services and benefits which they afford, should be rendered general, and distributed every where through society for the good of the community. They are the three most beneficial sciences to mankind: for they are what afford us food, what inform and direct the mind, what preserve health, or cure disorders: and they not only perform these important services, but they afford them to every individual, and are therefore denominated

denominated universal, differing from the other useful and practical sciences of public welfare, that they are necessarily and essentially wanted in society for the benefit of each citizen, who composes the community. We can do without a good government, at least a good government is one of the rarest blessings society enjoys. We are not always wanting the assistance of lawyers, or we should be miserable beings. We are not always wanting the interference of politicians with the interests of other nations, as ministers in general seem to apprehend. We do not always stand in need of the exercise of the art of finance; for we are sure in a well-regulated state, and under a right conducted government, there is no occasion for an endless funded debt to carry on war, and even the present immense debt of the nation, we dare ourselves engage wholly to set to rights. We have no occasion to place the dependence of the interests of society on commerce, though this certainly is very favourable to its welfare. But the situation of man is widely different with respect to those, which we call the three universal sciences of benevolence.

On agriculture; and as this is adequately productive, every one of us daily and hourly looks for necessary support; for pleasing and invigorating food; for plenty and abundance; for provisions being cheap, and within the reach of every man's

purse, both for his own, and the use of his family ; for his cloathing ; and for his comforts of life, even in his beer and in his cordials.

On mental civilization ; and as this is attended to, and the mind is advanced and improved, every man depends for numerous advantages ; their intellectual faculties hence become sufficient in regard to all the stations of life ; furnishing men with the means, which their necessities require ; advancing their fortune, and providing for their families ; giving them justness of perception and judgment, which are so necessary requisites in life. On the cultivation of the mind every man depends for adequate feelings ; for these giving him according to his station, a proper taste, sensibility, and every requisite of happiness ; affording a sentimental relish of true pleasure, which is in nature opposite to vice, and softening and refining his passions, so as to enable him properly to regulate them. On the due advancement of his mind every man depends for acquiring the proper force of the passions, which is necessary for rendering him active, and constituting him a perfect moral agent. In short, upon the cultivation of his mind every man depends, for fixing virtue in his breast, and entwining it with the fibres of his heart ; for giving his nature, made and created for virtue, that feeling, which, however we have hitherto been ignorant of the fact, compels every man to be virtuous, and which, with rare

rare exceptions to the contrary, may be impressed on all men.

From medicine, and as this may be considerably improved, and its blessings much more widely extended, man in general, of whatever station, does at present, and may still much more so in future, in himself, in his offspring, in his connections, and in his family, experience numerous and most inestimable advantages. For by the above means, his health may become more certain or less precarious; his diseases much fewer, much less severe, much less dangerous; his life in general prove much longer than what it is, and old age become again natural to man. This refers to the improvement of medicine, which, in honour of one of the greatest characters, we wish to call the Franklinean improvement, because he predicted this state of medicine. The private opinion of Dr. Franklin was, he should not live to see the time, but that it would not be long deferred after his death, when the severity of disease in general would be mitigated, and made to desist from its present ravage and destruction, and man in general happily live to the destined period of old age.

The preceding universal sciences of benevolence, we have, in a particular manner, attempted to cultivate and bring to perfection; we therefore propose to add some farther observations concerning them. They may, we are certain from experience,

be readily improved to a much greater extent than they are at present; be rendered infinitely more serviceable; and the adequate knowledge of them in simple and engaging tracts, or systems, easy to understand, be universally conveyed and distributed through society, with all the great advantageous effects, which are expected by us. If some persons did not understand those tracts, not being able to read, they would learn them from others, who did; and the whole soon be rendered of general use. However public assistance is necessary to cultivate and improve those sciences, and diffuse their blessings so extensively, that all individuals in general may partake of them. The tracts above-mentioned formed into corresponding systems, are a principal means of accomplishing these important purposes. For the people in general, as they require the services of mental civilization, or the adequate knowledge of agriculture, and the greatest part of the medical faculty, as they have occasion to learn their art, cannot possibly attend colleges, or be informed, and supplied by books of learning, which they do not understand: nor are lectures, we affirm, in any respect adequate to teach the great and comprehensive sciences of agriculture, medicine, and mental civilization. However, though colleges and lectures are inadequate means, the advancement of those three important public objects depends upon means, which are as scientific, and

and of as arduous, or of much more an arduous nature than what for promoting different sciences are afforded by colleges and lectures: and those objects, on account of their great importance, ought surely to be more attended to, than any others.

To form and compose the above systems in a proper manner, which are necessary to supply the place of colleges and lectures for promoting agriculture, mental civilization, and medicine, there must be men provided for the purpose of a particular and suitable turn and genius: and we engage there are men very sufficient, who will accomplish the same within no very long period, without difficulty, according to the proposed intention of the tracts. Which is the most difficult part of the task, we will superintend and direct the execution of these designs, and answer for them in practice, producing in the most effectual manner all the numerous and inestimable blessings, which the three universal sciences of benevolence can render to mankind. We have produced almost all the elements of each of these sciences in our different publications. We have shewn in our works, how readily the agriculture of the kingdom may be improved, and brought to its perfection. Nay, in order to manifest our ability to effect this, we have in particular delineated the practical art of improving ground to the greatest advantage, that is, so far as regards agriculture, in no less a space than

the whole kingdom, wherever it admits of cultivation.

In respect of mental civilization, we have made the important discovery of the powers or the different parts of the human mind, and laid them before the public, and shown the certain and right methods of cultivating and improving them for the purposes of society : and we have produced a syllabus of ethics, which, on account of great neglect on this head, ought to cause religious professions to blush. In respect of medicine, we have shown how it may be improved, so as to render it adequate to the services, which the Franklinean improvement of medicine is capable of affording to mankind. Farther to demonstrate the advantage of the Franklinean improvement of medicine, we have this winter published as a specimen, to lay before Parliament, the most difficult part of it, the histories and characters of the different diseases of the human body: which subject alone, if it was fully known to every practitioner, would be of great national service ; for the knowledge of diseases Sydenham considers as of the greatest consequence in practice. We have published it in Latin, but such easy latinity, that every medical person who reads five pages of it, may readily understand the whole. We have wrote it in that language, in deference to the opinion of the physicians of the age ; but, unquestionably, the principal part of the Franklinean

linear improvement of medicine should be published in English; our wish also is to render the intention of the improvement known to the world at large.

Medicine is a science of the greatest importance to the interests of humanity, and more immediately concerns the public than any other. If, therefore, the cultivation and improvement of it should be found, as a public object greatly neglected, we may with certainty conclude, the other eleven sciences of public welfare are not more attended to, and be thus convinced of the present imperfect state of society, and what great room there is left for the improvement and advancement of it. If medicine can be much improved, and so far as the sublunary condition of all terrestrial things permits, be suitably carried to perfection, and its blessings infinitely more generally extended than they are, we may conclude, that the other sciences of public welfare may be rendered equally serviceable, and beneficial, and national perfection of consequence established by the general advancement of them.

We shall, therefore, take a view of the present state of medicine, so far as is necessary to prove the foregoing assertions; and first we shall make some observations upon the present methods in use of acquiring medical information; afterwards upon the present state of medicine; and lastly, upon the advantage of the early employment of adequate

medical skill in the cure of diseases. In England medicine is so very indifferently, if it be in any sense, taught in the national colleges, that they are not resorted to for learning the science: so that the art in this kingdom is unendowed with a college. Many Englishmen, therefore, for medical instruction, go to London, or to Edinburgh; which latter seminary, by the loss of early connections at home, is often very prejudicial to their fortunes. We first premise, lectures are very valuable means of medical instruction, and many are given on the subject with great ability in this kingdom. However, lectures in general are not adequate to teach medical knowledge; either this, as we observed before, being too comprehensive to come within the bounds of lectures, or lectures not being adequate to afford such knowledge. The persons who give them, are not always qualified for the task: thus we have known a person eminent in medicine read the same lecture for two very different diseases, the colic, and an inflammation in the bowels, describe these as the same, and recommend for both one and the same cure. Persons, who give lectures, sometimes indulge their private opinions, their theories, and partialities to such lengths, that their lectures afford little medical instruction: and we are very certain from faults of this kind, the late Dr. Cullen's lectures on the practice of medicine, never made pupils proficients in

in this subject. Lectures, besides, are often ill attended, and are very subject to be forgotten. As to other means of acquiring medical knowledge; apothecaries and surgeons, we are very certain, for we have ourselves served under a very eminent one, in general afford too little medical instruction to the apprentice, though we do not mean here to question the general advantages of masters to young persons. Books, as they are written, often are injurious to the student; and they certainly furnish him with a very imperfect knowledge of medicine: in general, far too great a number of books are necessary to be read, in order to acquire but a smattering in medicine, and they are ill adapted to the capacity of a learner. Hence lectures are universally preferred, and with great reason, on account of medical instruction, to books.

Hospitals, no doubt, are very valuable, as all the foregoing means are, for acquiring knowledge in the different branches of medicine, but then, like these, they are very inadequate for affording such a knowledge as ought to be, and, as we shall hereafter show, may readily be obtained by every practitioner, by means of the Franklinean improvement of medicine. For it is not merely the seeing of practice, if this could be seen sufficiently extensive during the short time students generally attend the hospitals, which conveys medical skill. We know well, practice itself, however large, cannot pro-

cure this. It is information, comparatively speaking, which affords medical skill ; and hospitals very indifferently convey information, in respect of so extensive and complex an art as medicine. Great information, with a moderate share of practice, is the proper genuine means of affording an adequate knowledge of the practice of medicine, or making a good practitioner. An extensive practice alone, even of many years, without a great deal of other assistance, affords very little instruction in medicine. If experience was in itself to afford medical knowledge, physicians in practice would always explore new knowledge : but we know they do not ; as they would communicate it to the public for the improvement of their art, and for the sake of adding to their character and reputation. If the knowledge of the art depended on experience, it would be a sorry art for our patients, and for mankind ; and might very properly be said to be learned by experiments made on our patients, which, however, can in no sense be said with truth.

However, let us admit to as great extent as will be required, that colleges, lectures, masters, books, hospitals, are very useful means of acquiring medical knowledge, yet how many young people are there, who have no possible access to these, or such imperfect access to them, as is not at all sufficient to afford information to persons, who are to practise medicine in the most extensive line for their livelihood !

lihood! How many likewise of the students, who have the opportunity, yet from the trouble of the task, from the extent of the means, and the great labour and difficulty necessary to make a proper use of them, do not profit by the opportunity, or greatly abuse it: therefore we have an unquestionable right to conclude, that there is at present no adequate mode of learning medicine, as it should be known for the general service of society; and the mode in use, we believe, no person will deny, is attended with too much uncertainty, and is too difficult and laborious.

The general practice of medicine, so respectable as it is in this kingdom! may, on this account, appear not to be capable of great improvement, and of being rendered much more beneficial to mankind at large, than it is at present. But let us observe, that the people who are to judge of this, the world in general, are not capable with any propriety of ascertaining the merits of practitioners in medicine: for no persons, we are certain, but medical people, can justly appreciate professional ability. Persons, therefore, employing practitioners of adequate skill, certainly cannot know this from their own judgment. Beside that judgment is sometimes imposed upon by those arts, which the profession is not to be blamed for employing, in order to succeed in business, such as the establishment of a great name, the pompous display of their abilities,

and their own account of their great success in practice: or connection, or interest, or private affection and esteem, or numerous other means in different shapes and forms, and not their merits, may advance persons into large and extensive practice. Persons, therefore, who are acquainted with medicine, can only determine the subject in dispute: and for our part we assert, judging both from the real present state of the practice, and from the imperfect method by which medical knowledge is taught and acquired, that medicine in general may still be much improved, or at least rendered infinitely more beneficial to society.

The medical practice is unquestionably very highly respectable in this kingdom, notwithstanding the total neglect of its important interests by government, who have not in England provided even a college adequate to teach the art. But whether in London or in the country, whether we speak of physicians or apothecaries, there is unquestionably a very great opportunity of making the practice of medicine much more serviceable and beneficial to society than it is at present. This assertion, indeed, admits of demonstration. For all the world are agreed, that there are in every different place, a few persons of much more eminent practical skill and abilities, than the rest of the profession: but by means of the Franklinean improvement of medicine, which we shall propose,

all

all practitioners in general may readily become sufficient proficients in the different respective lines of their profession. Nor is there any question, but in so important a subject to the interests of humanity, as the practice of medicine, all individual practitioners should be possessed of as extensive and great medical information and ability as they can possibly acquire.

It is of very great importance to mankind, in regard to their disorders, that the first means, to which they apply for relief, should be effectual. For diseases are neither agreeable nor safe companions, but in every sense the reverse: they in various respects prove expensive; nor can the poorer class in general afford to apply oftener than once for medical relief. To afford effectual assistance for all the different disorders of mankind on the first application for relief, is the direct intention of the Franklinean improvement, which is designed to convey the full and adequate knowledge of medicine to all students and practitioners, as these can have occasion to make use of it; by its effectual services, they cannot possibly fail of acquiring such information in the most complete and sufficient manner, for the benefit of their patients and all the different members of society, who require medical assistance, as soon as they apply for it. So well are foreign nations in general convinced of the advantage of finding adequate

relief in the first application for the removal of disorders, that they employ, instead of the apothecary, the physician in general, whose fee, to accommodate the general employment of his services, is reduced even often lower than a shilling. The physicians, and the faculty in general, especially those in London, are coming into the same opinion, though not into a similar practice: but for this purpose, they are very busy in instituting and multiplying what are called dispensaries, the chief object of which is to afford the advice of physicians, instead of apothecaries, to poorer patients. Such an improvement, if it is a commendable one, can never become general, and must only be very limited. It is, however, not adviseable; the proper improvement is the diffusion of medical knowledge, which we recommend. Apothecaries, as they are established every where through society, are very conveniently disposed to lend their assistance to the different stations of mankind, and very happily placed to distribute the several advantages of the Franklinean improvement of medicine. Provided with the extensive medical information, which it affords, they would, through the kingdom at large, be adequate to all the services, which society can derive from medicine, and would every where supersede the use or necessity of dispensaries; in fact, every apothecary's

car's shop, in respect of knowledge, would become a dispensary.

The Franklinean improvement of medicine is very simple, and consists, as we observed before, in conveying to all practitioners in general, the most perfect knowledge and information of medicine. These important services they cannot possibly fail of acquiring, so far as they may be useful to society, in a most agreeable and easy manner, without much trouble, and of experiencing from them all the advantages, which they afford. A slight view of the general means of accomplishing the above improvement, we shall extract from our work on the royal regeneration of Great Britain. It proposes,

“ 1st, That there should be composed plain and simple practicable systems, suitable for the instruction of young persons designed for the practice of physic, and complete in every respect, so far as they may be useful, of all the following different branches of medicine, to wit, of chymistry, of anatomy and physiology, of the *materia medica*, of surgery, midwifery, the practice of medicine, the means of preserving health.

2d, That two or more persons, in every respect adequately qualified for the purpose, and liberally supported at the expence of government, should be employed to compose those systems, they collecting for the purpose the necessary useful knowledge, from whatever sources it could be procured,

and in whatever manner it ought to be provided: they also making what improvements it may be in their power to advance, for perfecting the different subjects of their pursuits. These desiderata, their ordinary fixed situation, which ought to be in London, would afford them a very suitable opportunity of accomplishing. For the practice of medicine here being remarkably extensive, is very favourable to medical information and improvement.

3d, That the said several systems of medicine, when compiled and finished, shall be submitted to the College of Physicians for their approbation, to receive such alterations, as they may, judge necessary.

4th, That after such sanction is obtained, an act of parliament shall be passed, containing all necessary regulations and injunctions, requisite for enforcing the proper and adequate use of the said several systems, by those who intend to practise medicine in general, or in any particular branch of it; in such manner as cannot fail of making the said persons complete masters and proficients in the different systems, which relate to their practice. It will be sufficient on this occasion, either,

That no person shall in future commence to practise medicine in the kingdom, as a professional man, till he has been examined by certain persons in English, and in the most simple, yet in a careful manner,

manner, respecting such of the above systems, as relate to the intended line of his occupation :

Or, * that no person shall in future commence to practise medicine in the kingdom, as a professional man; until he can bring proof by proper persons to assert in his behalf, that he has had in his possession the aforesaid systems, all, or so many as may be thought requisite; and has paid great and proper attention to the reading, studying, and understanding the same, and to the making himself a proficient in practice according to the doctrines therein contained.

5th, That the said systems shall be sold without any other expence or profits laid upon the prices of them, than the cost of paper, print, and the usual allowances to booksellers; in order that every person who cultivates medicine, however poor, may afford to purchase them.

6th, That from time to time, as may be wanted, and in such manner as may be judged expedient, proper additions shall be made respectively to the several different systems above-mentioned, as new improvements in medicine render them necessary."

The above is a very small and imperfect sketch of that, which we call the Franklinean improvement of medicine, which our time does not per-

* The present regulation would be sufficient to answer the purpose: the natural humanity of the faculty renders any other unnecessary.

mit us to explain at large, and to do justice to the important services, which may be derived from it : but to persons acquainted with medicine, these are too obvious to require a long detail.

The art would be greatly advanced, in consequence of accomplishing this improvement : for we propose it should be previously cultivated, according to the important principles, which we have laid down in the preceding part of the work, for the advancement of the national improvements ; and in this manner much new practical knowledge could not fail of being ascertained and communicated to the faculty in general. The extent of medical knowledge would be defined, and subjected to view under the Franklinean improvement : its defects thus would be better understood, and with greater anxiety be attempted to be supplied by means of adequate improvements. Even considerable improvements in respect of the medical practice of Great Britain, would probably be communicated from abroad. For, if the Franklinean improvement should be generally adopted throughout Europe, as we trust it will ; and instead of their present pharmacopeias, which may be considered as merely the receipts of medical cookery, the different nations should respectively publish Franklinean systems of medicine for the direction of the faculty, much information in medicine could not fail of being drawn from the different practices becoming

becoming known, which are in use over the whole of Europe. Also practical ability would, by means of the Franklinean improvement, become, in the general exercise of the art, much more efficacious through the kingdom ; for, by its means, the student would, on his first initiation in medicine, be fully informed and acquainted with the art, and afterwards would be able, with singular felicity, to make the greatest advantage possible of the practice and hospitals, which he would see and attend, and of the other measures he would pursue for his farther improvement. Apothecaries are necessarily more capable of attending to the preservation of health than physicians. It would be a leading view of the proposed improvement to enable the former to accomplish this important public object in an effectual manner, consistent with the emolument of business. However, not to dwell longer upon collateral circumstances, infinitely the principal advantage, which would accrue from the adoption of the Franklinean improvement, respects, as we have already explained, the universal and adequate distribution among practitioners of medical knowledge, which its large funds of all kinds of useful information would afford ; every practitioner would be in full possession of his art, and it would almost be impossible for the sick in any place to meet with imperfect or insufficient practitioners. Thus the merits of the

Franklinean improvement of medicine would be as inestimable; as diseases are numerous and severe; as perfect health is the greatest of blessings; as life is invaluable; as the several connections of father, son, husband, wife, friends, and acquaintance in general are inexpressibly dear and important; and as patriotism, humanity, and public welfare, are most highly interesting to all worthy individual members of society.

The improvement, it is hardly possible, should be prejudicial to personal interest; and no objections whatever should prevent the adoption of it, on account of its great importance to the public welfare, because any few partial injuries it may produce, can easily be compensated.

At the present time, while such an improvement was preparing, physicians would be considerably benefited, by the public seeing, in the impossibility of knowing the proper merit of practitioners by their own judgment, the propriety of consulting them on all occasions, when their advice is necessary. The improvement, if adopted, could not be accomplished for some years: nor afterwards, when it has taken place, and furnished apothecaries in general with the knowledge of medicine, as adequate to the relief of the several disorders of mankind, do we see it could prejudice physicians. The latter, from a superior education, and improvement of their minds, from greater time and attention bestowed

bestowed in the study and acquisition of medical knowledge, and from the natural wish of the world in general to procure the best advice in their power for the relief of all their dangerous disorders, would ever maintain their professional superiority over the apothecary. As we propose, for reasons advanced elsewhere, to obtain from Parliament, which has granted a large provision for the support of the church and law in general, a sum of money towards a fund for the relief of the medical faculty, or their families in general, in distress; so Parliament would unquestionably grant physicians the reasonable favour, to abolish the northern custom of conferring degrees on apothecaries, not going through a previous course of proper studies and examinations. Should, as after an intervening space of twenty years, the apothecary be likely to encroach in some measure upon us, this would not injure the present physicians; and we do not apprehend they imagine their profession to be in general so advantageous in its returns at this day, as to desire, that as many physicians should, in future as at present, give it a preference to the various more lucrative lines of business in commerce, law, and in trade in general.

MY LORDS AND GENTLEMEN,

Having produced to you sufficient proofs of the present imperfect state of medicine, in comparison of that, which it is capable of being rendered;

we

we beg leave to assure you, that the other universal sciences of benevolence, agriculture, and mental civilization, are not merely in the same, but in a much worse situation, in respect to their advancement; and that to them the preceding remarks in regard to medicine are infinitely more applicable. For the science of medicine has been fostered with that warm zeal of humanity, which in every age distinguishes the medical profession, and been greatly advanced by a body of men, at all times eminent for science and great comprehensive views of improvement.

All the three sciences claim your most serious attention and the advancement of public aid, in order to bring them to perfection; for reasons which we need not, my Lords and Gentlemen, explain to you, drawn from the extent, the difficulty, and expensive cultivation of those particular sciences. At present, agriculture and medicine are not respected so far as to be honoured with colleges in this country, or to be cultivated in any public manner whatever: and where mental civilization is taught the people in general, as a public object, unless in the laws made with respect to criminal punishments, and in the seminaries of the hulks and of Botany Bay, and of similar establishments, we confess our ignorance. The latter seminary annually costs the nation almost half a million of money. An inexpressibly small

part of this sum, expended to accomplish the means of giving effect to and extending through society at large the different doctrines and means of mental civilization, would infallibly prevent the occasion or necessity of such a seminary. But the regard which always distinguishes your Lordships, and you, Gentlemen, in respect to the just claims of virtue and humanity, should induce you to accomplish such an important public service, though it might cost the nation yearly, not half, but a whole million of money. However, four or five thousand pounds a-year, or some such sum of money, expended for a few years in accomplishing the design which we recommend, would be the whole cost of superseding the use of Botany Bay, of preventing the present great frequency of crimes in general, as well as of accomplishing the most grand design, which has ever been proposed to the world, respecting civilization.

In like manner, a very trifling expence, considered as a national one, would enable you to bring to their proper perfection the other two universal sciences of benevolence. For, my Lords and Gentlemen, we can speak with confidence upon these subjects; as we have ourselves attempted by our own means to accomplish, what we propose to you in respect to all of them; and it was the want of a very small pecuniary aid, which alone prevented our success. As a reward for our various

rious and important labours intended to serve the public, we would humbly request to have the honour of completing what we have begun and attempted, because the progress we have already made would render very easy the remaining part of the task. Surely, therefore, you will not allow the nation to be deprived of the great services, which the universal sciences of benevolence afford, when the public will defray the expence of accomplishing the national perfection of them. The wisdom, patriotism, and humanity, which so eminently distinguish you at the present time, we humbly trust, will therefore graciously incline you to grant such very trifling sums of money, in order to *establish proper succedanea in the place of colleges, for the adequate improvement and extension of agriculture, medicine, and mental civilization, which are not to be accomplished by the means of colleges;* to distribute their numerous and inestimable advantages and blessings universally through society; and to carry those three important national objects, which have not hitherto been cultivated or advanced by adequate means, to the great heights of perfection, which they are capable of reaching by such assistance.

OUR COUNTRYMEN IN GENERAL! YE CITIZENS OF THE EMPIRE!

As the sincere votaries of public virtue and philanthropy! we are commissioned to present you with the system of the twelve practical sciences of

public

public and private welfare, which we have already announced ; viz. those of government, jurisprudence, the local arrangement with the district improvement of countries ; of public agency, and of finance ; of mental civilization, and of religion ; of medicine ; of national improvement properly so called ; of commerce, of politics and war : and in them you will find, ye Citizens ! the means which are necessary to redress the wrongs, and supply the wants of humanity, to advance all your several interests, and to complete your happiness. They afford for your enjoyment a celestial banquet, rich with divine regalements, exhaustless in its stores, open to all ranks and stations, and capable of satisfying every part of the human creation. Comprehensive, great, and competent for its several purposes, in a manner which is astonishing, is the system of public welfare, which we propose ! It abounds with every good, and can produce sublunary perfection ; it is indeed the divine system of public welfare, which God intended for the service of society ! It is the most illustrious object, that can dignify the world, and honour this or any other country : and its excellence, as we present it, is infinitely more complete than the present regeneration in France !

Nor let its merits suffer because the term regeneration in its usual acceptance is similar to national perfection. The regeneration of nations
into

into their proper perfection, which is the great object of the present design, is not an operation of war, of sedition, of tumult, of mobs, but of peace, of improvement, of public advantage, of philanthropy, of private felicity: and however imperfectly established in France, it has from that country exterminated slavery and tyranny with less blood than a smart skirmish in war usually causes to be shed. In this country regeneration, as we propose it, would, like a charm, perfect humanity; be only felt as an universal thrilling sensation of pleasure; as in China at present, as once it accomplished in the reign of Alfred, and once in the golden age, immediately subsequent to the primary civilization of Greece, and the neighbouring countries; it would suspend all disturbances, and cause general tranquillity. An ill compliment, therefore, should we pay to our countrymen, to our sovereign, to parliament, if we should be afraid or backward in supporting it with spirit, and energy; or if we should draw any distinctions between national perfection and national regeneration, as if it were necessary to accommodate the proper terms of public welfare to politeness, and to public error.

Ought we to be content and satisfied with the present state of society, when it may be rendered infinitely more perfect? Ought we only to enjoy a small portion of the many gratifications, which

which society can afford, and was intended by Providence to afford Mankind ? But why should we submit to all the various inconvenience and distress, and calamity, which we suffer in society, which we were not created to experience, instead of seeking for that happiness God intended us in this world ? As British citizens, nay as rational beings, we ought not to be thus content and satisfied. As attached to our country, and feeling for others, and for ourselves, we ought to be active and strenuous in contributing all means in our power to improve society, and to render every service to humanity. From the excessive neglect, as well as from the great difficulty of cultivating all its different interests, and from the frequent violation and abuse of these, the present state of society in general is inexpressibly imperfect, mean and sordid, unhappy and wretched. It is, to use a gross comparison, a mess of cold pottage, with various raw admixtures, causing numerous flatulent, colicky disorders ; while national perfection is the banquet, already described, rich, luxurious, plenteous, splendid, intended for man by divine Providence. We shall therefore present a slight view of the present state of society, and more especially, as it regards the twelve sciences of public welfare, the proper constitution of which, as rendering society perfect, may be viewed in the preceding pages. For in what a situation do the bulk of mankind

kind live at present, and what do they not suffer on account of the perversion of the twelve practical sciences of public welfare, the adequate advancement of which was intended to complete the interests of humanity !

Concerning each of those sciences, we shall offer a few of the many considerations, which we might present on the occasion, in order to shew the present imperfection of them. Even such a partial view will manifest this ; and a comparison with the proposed perfect state of public welfare, which is comprised in the foregoing chapter, will in some measure compensate for the want of a full enumeration of the different defects, and corruptions of its present state, which our time does not permit us to attempt. We have already adverted to the practice of medicine ; and from the view given of it, it will appear, what great and numerous services and blessings we lose, what distress, misfortune, and mortality we suffer, from not advancing, extending, and regulating it in a better manner. In respect of religion, what inestimable and interesting services might not this afford society, as we have proposed to advance it for the completion of humanity ! But in what a disrespectful state is it in general at present ! Infinitely too little service it renders society ; and scarcely, in the present age, any person, who in the most regular manner attends divine worship, becomes better in his morals on a

Monday

Monday, than he was on the preceding Saturday. What a distress are the tithes to the public in general; and how much do they obstruct the good effects, which religion ought to produce! What a disgrace is it on one hand for a British yeomanry not to have the spirit to provide a different means for the support of the Church; and for the Clergy not as spiritedly to co-operate in the same intention! Why is not the state of the Church, which has for so many centuries not been revised, nor meliorated, to be reviewed, to be improved, to be reformed; and to be rendered as useful, as unexceptionable, and as generally comprehensive as possible, since such measures will promote the different interests of society, in a manner, to which expression cannot render justice; since more particularly by their means the Church may reconcile all religious differences and dissensions, supported on reason and sentiment, and thus prevent the various bad effects, arising from the present state of the numerous religious sects in this country, which are much more detrimental to society than we are aware of!

As to jurisprudence and the law, what blessings and advantages, what aid and friendship ought we not, our countrymen! to experience from them; but can we describe the miseries and calamities, which every citizen suffers from the corruptions of them? Too rank do these offend for us to de-

scribe them, and you need not view as a picture the misery, which is impressed upon your hearts, by your own, and the general experience of society. Jurisprudence at the present day seldom or ever makes a salutary law for the direct advancement of the interests of society, though these can in infinite respects be improved by the due exercise of a wholesome legislation. In new laws, such as regard criminal punishments and taxes, it only imposes additional distress and calamity upon the people : and lawyers, courts of justice, and the chancery and the house of lords, as means of legal redress, are viewed with horror ; though all of them may readily be so improved and regulated, as to be consistent with the applications of prudent persons to them for relief, and to be effectual supports of virtue, humanity, and integrity.

From what we have advanced in respect of the science of mental civilization, it is very manifest, that good dispositions and good understandings are intended by God to be enjoyed universally by all men through society ; and that such dispositions and understandings may readily be extended to all the different stations, as they were in the days of Alfred. But the means are left at random, and not afforded us by Government, which only can supply them, in the manner we have explained, when we treated of the three universal sciences of benevolence : although the good old king, whose memory

memory we should love till time is no more, found this a very easy task. We do nothing in respect of this important object ; and our Sunday schools are the sole, and we may call them with truth little pusillanimous attempts, which this great and scientific age has made, for promoting the purposes of civilization. What a general scene of vice is spread over the land ! How scandalous is this ! When such an opprobrious state is solely owing, as we have shown, to the want of proper information, and direction of the mind of individuals in general, and in some degree, to the defect of a little agency and form for the encouragement of virtue. For the great Alfred absolutely and wholly defaced it from the kingdom by similar means, as history so well evinces.

Nay in the present age, the good, as they are called, are in their way too generally vicious people : for what delight do they take in defamation ! with what keen alacrity in general do they prey upon misery, and prosecute to their ruin the unfortunate, who often sink under their malice, when otherwise they could have raised and relieved themselves ! The character of integrity and virtue, sociality and benevolence, is, in general, too suspicious through the whole kingdom ; and should unquestionably, along with the more open and flagrant viciousness, go into the washing-tub, to be scoured with that ley, which we have prepared under the practical science

of mental civilization. This is more especially necessary, as we are daily transporting and hanging numbers of poor wretches, whose unhappy fates too often are owing to the vices of the good, as they are called, and of society in general, but almost always to the ignorance and neglect of government respecting crimes, as it may to a certainty prevent them, by accomplishing our proposed means of mental civilization. We know the latter fact so well to be true, that we frequently think ministers of state, deserve to be substituted as the criminals, who are launched into eternity, or in large fleets transported to people distant colonies, by the determination of what, my countrymen! ye call justice. But let us turn from a view highly disgraceful and most opprobrious to the divine intentions of society, and ask, why and wherefore is not man made the great, the perfect, the wise, the able, the accomplished, the embellished, the happy being, which he was intended to be by nature; which a proper cultivation of his mind and person, as we have shown elsewhere, is certain to render him; which, in general, through ancient Greece he was actually in a very great degree made, every citizen being rendered such a complete being, by the pleasing arts and cares of its religious institutions and public civilization!

In respect of the practical science of national improvements, we may observe, that as public objects,

objects, they are scarcely attended to. Some commercial regulations, indeed, engage the attention of government; but principally with the view of providing a revenue for the state. Therefore as ability, acquired by habit and practice, is the principal or sole means of devising and accomplishing the national improvements, so we may say the total neglect of the national improvements by the different departments of it, must render government absolutely unequal to the introduction of them. Hence, when such objects come before different administrations, they show a perfect inability in respect to them. Hence, the remodification of the Poor laws, the introduction of police, the promotion of the British fisheries, the abolition of the slave trade, an adequate supply of provisions for the public use, and legislation in general, so far as this respects the interests of the nation; all terminate, when they are brought before the Senate, in mere debates and declamations. Nay, the science of public welfare, called the local arrangement of a country and the district improvement thereof, is really wholly unknown in this country, as an object of government. Therefore the hand of government, which should every where explore the opportunities, and accomplish the means of improving the several parts of the kingdom, is unable to grasp its object, and cannot possibly operate, as for want of use, it possesses not the faculty of improvement.

As to the science of finance, one of the sciences of public welfare, it is not understood in this kingdom, as we have already advanced sufficient proofs: and we have shown in our writings, when the science is really known, the finances of the kingdom may be immediately redressed. The national ignorance concerning them is obvious from any, the most trifling view we can take of them. It is really astonishing, what a sum of money in taxes, which is never received by the Exchequer, is paid by the public, owing to the present modes of imposing and levying the revenue! How often do we see a tax laid upon an article, that in the increased price of the article is paid twice or several times over! Different modes of taxation, accompanied with great additional severity, are become necessary. And the taxes are to be let out to the best bidders, and the excise laws extended, when the relaxation of the rigour of finance is its sole and real actual improvement, as we have elsewhere fully shown! We groan under our taxes: fresh ones are continually imposed; and a long series of additional ones we now find to be unavoidable! Are we to labour only to supply food for taxes, and not to enjoy the fruits of labour?

As to the science of politics, we refer the reader to what we have already said on the subject; and he will there see, we act not according to true, but according to modern, that is, the most irrational and

and absurd principles of politics, that can possibly be devised. A British minister of state is really a more eccentric warrior, than an Alexander the Great, or a Julius Cæsar ! and we hardly can accompany the rapid flight of the military genius of the former to Holland, then to Madrid, at the same time to India, Constantinople, Petersburgh, Stockholm, and Copenhagen ! Our court in the first period of the present reign, and we think with great wisdom, was pacific, and essentially contributed to the success of the Russians against the Turks. Now every where it excites and spreads the flames of war ; and how contrary to its former conduct, is making war against Russia in favour of the Ottomans ! Even all the several maritime powers, except merely one, are alarmed, and become inimical to us. Surely such political proceedings must manifest to every candid mind, that in respect of objects the most essential to the national welfare, there actually exists the most strange and unaccountable ignorance and error in the supreme government. As to war, it is, indeed, a practical science of public welfare, although only such in general, as it is avoided, and a rare occurrence : but our ministers really seem to delight in war, and might, perhaps, as well openly acknowledge the hereditary turn and inclination of their genius. The politics they adopt, only tend to produce wars ; and in the horror of these a gene-

ral conflagration of their kindling would unquestionably have involved all Europe, provided philanthropy and patriotism had not fortunately accomplished the regeneration of France. This has surely been very beneficial to this country ! and has proved an unforeseen, and as we think, a Divine interference in favour of peace and the interests of humanity. We have, without the sanction of any plea of justice whatever, made war on Tippoo Saib, even in India, where the impolicy of war for promoting our interests is well known, even in an enemy's extensive dominions, where conquest ought not to have been expected, considering our very late experience in America. We have allied ourselves in such a manner with Prussia, that the rest of Europe, as in the last German war, might too probably have been combined against both.

In regard to the practical science of commerce, government has loaded it very heavily, and greatly oppressed it ; and will too certainly, in consequence of mistaken politics and frequent wars, be compelled to impose such severe burdens upon it, as will break its back. Such an event in respect of commerce, may approach sooner than we are aware ; for it will be accelerated by the speedy improvements of the French manufactures and commerce. These may with great certainty be predicted, after the composure of the national disturbances, to become trying rivals to this country. But what does

it avail the nation, that commerce flourishes, if it is only to be made the means of imposing the burdens of finance upon our shoulders? The purpose of commerce, as we endeavour to advance and support its interests, and as we consider it to be a practical science of public welfare, is to be serviceable and beneficial to society. How much this laudable purpose is perverted, and reversed, we may see in various instances, even in our West India trade. Sugar is 4d. per pound dearer in England than in France, we must pay at the same time an exorbitant price for rum, in order that a minister may make it one of his ways and means, for involving us in unnecessary sanguinary wars; and upon account of the taxes laid upon it, must drink it in such an adulterated state, as wholly deprives it of its cordial and invigorating effects, and converts it into a poison to our constitutions.

In respect to the practical science of public agencies, we every where through the kingdom see the imperfect state of them. For parish officers make very imperfect agents to superintend the maintenance of the poor and the roads of the kingdom. Custom-house officers and excisemen afford very unhappy means for collecting and procuring revenue: they are obliged to attend and watch every vessel and boat, and the sea itself, and to pervade and encircle the whole inland country; and, we may truly say, every article which sea or

land affords, is burdened with a tax, which they are employed to collect! What evasions and defalcations hence take place in the produce of the revenue, we hardly need say! In what manner! our parish officers collect several of the taxes, as the servant taxes, the window lights, and a long list of others, is so well known to you, that you must imagine Mr. Pitt does not know, who collects them; otherwise he would have substituted a better agency for the purpose. The science of public agency is very imperfect at the present day; but when it is properly understood, as it has already been explained, the greatest benefits may be derived from it; and national perfection readily established. Almost any public services, ye Citizens of the Empire! ye can then reasonably expect, will, without difficulty, be afforded to you; and government will become as able to serve you, as at present it is impotent for this purpose! It is therefore surprising, when public affairs are in their present very unfavourable situation, when the different establishments of public agencies, such as those of parliament, of law, of religion, of parishes, of the excise, of the customs, are become corrupted, perverted, old or broken down, or rusty, or inadequate to the general interests of the nation, or to new emergencies, that government should be so reluctant to a proper revise, reform, and amend-

ment of them ! Such conduct is really very horrid, criminal, and flagitious !

Lastly, We shall add a few observations to show the great imperfections observable in respect of the government of Great Britain; for we wish not to trouble the reader with a longer consideration of the present subject. In the first place, that government must necessarily be a very bad one, which is become so corrupt, that its principal departments have lost their proper independence, having become wholly subject to the influence of the Crown. This statement must be admitted by every person of candour: nor can you amend the present government, so that it will not return within a short space of time into the same state, as it is at present, unless you amend it in a most effectual manner. Another great defect in the government is, that the people possess no liberty; for what is pretended to be such, really does not deserve the precious name. For no persons in the kingdom possess an adequate representation in Parliament; a small portion of the people are only represented in any sense; and this liberty, so called, is virtually of no use, but lays prostrate at the command of the Crown. That which we call British liberty, is, in general, the advantage of a few good laws, which have been transmitted to us from our ancestors, whom alone we should thank on this occasion. Still greater imperfections in our government are its

its ignorance and want of wisdom, in respect of the means of national welfare, and its inability in devising and executing proper designs of public utility. This is well known in the frequent futile attempts of government to bring forwards a police, a reformation of the Poor laws, an abolition of the slave trade, an increase of provisions, and similar improvements: for what ministers chiefly accomplish, are small trifling objects, such as the means of imposing a tax on the wheels of a carriage, or on a number of windows. These imperfections are very evident. For none of our ministers are acquainted with the interests and means of national welfare in any degree worthy notice, much less possess a masterly capacity for devising plans of public good. The Lord Chancellor himself has never proposed one single design of this nature in either of the two Houses of Parliament, though he has sat in them so many years: and, therefore, his Lordship is not in any sense a legislator, but a mere interpreter of the laws, which kind of skill is not a difficult acquisition to a professional man. This does not proceed from want of ability, but from the neglect of cultivating the proper science. Governments, we all know, who attend to the national improvements, have long gone by a fixed rule never to attend to any proposals of public improvements, but for their mere convenience, and temporary occasions; and they really have no taste or turn for devising or for forwarding

forwarding a national improvement. Hence, when a subject of public welfare comes before them, they generally blunder in a very surprising manner: but the other day in Livesy's cause, Lord Thurlow proposed that the acceptor of a bill, who had received fair value, in order to answer the payment of it, should be exempted from making that payment. This opinion very fortunately for public credit, which would otherwise have been destroyed, was not followed by the House of Lords. The ability, which we so much admire in different ministers, and which so greatly surprises the public, is not executive, but speculative; and consists in a knack of making long speeches, and in the introduction of a vast number of minute and intricate sentiments, reasons, and arguments upon any subject, which comes before them in public. Ministers perhaps always, for so we understand, intrust the fabrication of public designs to the persons subordinate in office: men, who in fact cannot be expected to know, or to have the least idea of the practical art of public welfare, much less of national perfection, or even to have a taste or turn for subjects of the nature. For is it not an absurdity to look for merit of this kind in Mr. Robinson, who was a country attorney, or in Mr. Rose or Mr. Napean, who were but lately pursers of men of war?

The imperfection of the government of Great Britain, speaking of it in general, is the source of infinite public grievances and calamities, which are well known, and proceed from its perversion, corruption, or submission to the crown. But there is one calamity, springing from it, which is not understood, we mean the great depression of the people in society. For if the people through society at large were indulged in the frequent and proper exercise of their elective rights of representation in parliament, a due consideration would always be paid to their opinions, and to their interests, which are in general in the country; for we do not speak so much of the manufacturing parts of the kingdom, very much disregarded. We speak from positive knowledge of the subject, that inferiors through society are, for the want of such a safeguard, as the above, very often ill treated, and great sufferers in their private fortunes, and often much oppressed and rendered very miserable. The possession of an adequate representation in parliament, and the frequent exercise of election, will, as an antidote in these respects, prove one of the greatest blessings, that can befall society; and though *seemingly* the means of a trifling elevation, will perfectly remove the present groveling depression of the people.

It may be proper by some instances to illustrate such a state of depression, as the above. Thus, if the people

people dare to seek the attainment of any object of public welfare, such perhaps as the enclosure of a common, they have no means of accomplishing this, provided a great man forsooth, or any person in his confidence, be not in humour to comply with the public voice, let this be ever so clamorous, and raised upon the most just grounds of absolute right, justice, humanity, and public welfare! Different parts of the country are really sometimes oppressed by the superior gentry in such a manner, that all the rights of humanity, and the several laws of decency and of good manners, are violated in the grossest forms. We have seen a great man indeed, stop three freeholders going in a carriage to an election, and after insisting in vain on their votes for the opposite party, and upbraiding them with favours, which an attorney could not possibly find, even at the desire of a countess, a noble family had ever rendered them, first bully two of the electors out of the post chaise; pull out the other who was refractory by the collar; take away the carriage, and leave the travellers, poor ill-fated representatives of the boasted liberties of Englishmen and freemen! to prosecute their journey on foot. There was the greater hardship in the case, for the poor electors could not possibly know the intention of a gentleman by his public principles, who had just returned from supporting the opposition in a distant county, to support Mr. Pitt,

where

where he was at the time of his committing so flagrant an outrage ! We have known a real aristocrate, for passion sometimes operates too strongly on violent tempers, seize upon the hounds and greyhounds of a whole parish, and carry them away, without any plea of law or justice, not paying any regard to the locks upon the doors, which the unthinking people thought their safeguard. A gentleman of great respect in his behaviour in general, but occasionally aristocratical, we have known apprehend a dog on the high road, passing through his estate ; and though the dog belonged to, and was very earnestly reclaimed by a most respectable qualified person, who did not long survive the insult ! order his groom to hang up the poor animal, who, as public roads in most countries are considered as public property, could not be considered as a trespasser. But not in respect of particular instances, but with regard to all the possible ways and means of injuring the happiness of the human mind every where in its walk, a true aristocratic spirit employs and busies itself with unceasing solicitude. And what will he not perpetrate, goaded with so hostile a principle against humanity ? In short, the true and lawful sovereigns of Great Britain may become complete tyrants of their extensive dominions, but they cannot disturb the happiness of society in such a manner, as a poor wretched aristocrate, truly such, has it in his power,

whose

whose tyranny would fall to the ground, and his oppression cease, if the people were fairly represented in Parliament, and frequently as well as duly exercised the precious right of election.

This state of depression of the people is become altogether critical : either at this time or very soon it must be removed ; or the people of Great Britain become slaves, or worse than slaves. For the peerage is very numerous, and increases every year in number. A regular, systematic increase of the peerage gives surprising influence to the crown, as it attaches to government the persons who are raised to the dignity, and a principal part of the higher gentry, who expect, in the free manner government dispenses honours, to arrive either themselves or their posterity at the same honours. But if the gentry should be so happy, as not to delude themselves with the phantoms of rank and grandeur, yet various motives naturally associate them in general with the peers, and the other inferior orders of nobility. The higher gentry likewise will be in general induced to coincide with government from the vast influence of the crown, which is still increasing, in the numerous places, and promotions, which are in its dispensation. Hence, in this kingdom an aristocratic gentry will in time be formed subject to the influence of the crown ; and both peers, and men of large fortune being numerous through the kingdom, and in a

commercial country, sure to increase very considerably, the aristocracy will become universal. Therefore such a gentry, unless the rights of the people are restored and advanced in an adequate manner, to counterbalance its power, will become generally oppressive both in a private and in a public view.

To influence such a gentry as it pleases, the crown is provided in its patronage with every means requisite ; not to mention its collateral means of influence, such as on one hand the powerful arts of promise, and on the other the fallacious charms of hope and expectation, or such as the power of majesty, as it conciliates attachment, and affects to support the interests of aristocracy. Assisted with such a gentry, the crown will acquire a power and tyranny over the people, which cannot be controlled : it will oppress them at pleasure. It will force them into whatsoever wars it pleases. It will not be thwarted with contested elections, which the gentry settle among themselves. It will compel the people to bear the national grievances, as a corrupted gentry will not attempt to relieve them ; and it will oblige the people, unable to help themselves, or dragooned like Dutchmen, patiently to submit to an interminable imposition of the most dreadful and oppressive kinds of taxes and duties. The concurrence of the gentry in such measures will be secured by the proper distribution of the favours of government, whose influence will at the same time

time be most essentially increased by the additional taxes. The people, therefore, unavoidably will be compelled to submit, because the gentry, who, as their leaders, could render their resistance of avail, are in reality combined against them.

Nay, the people, as without the higher gentry they might be effectually able to vindicate themselves, will be deprived of the assistance of the lesser gentry. For this body, oppressed with the burthens of finance, will necessarily be obliged to find relief in trade, and will therefore greatly diminish in number, and they are already forsaking the country. Or they must at home practise a severe œconomy ; or flatter and become the dependents of the higher gentry ; or if they show independency of mind, be overpowered by the rancorous prosecutions of proud superiors, who will set no bounds to their malice, and will not scruple to employ the meanest arts and the most detestable devices for the gratification of their revenge. Persons of fortune in the commercial line are able to afford greater assistance to the people against a future combination of an aristocratic gentry with government : yet they will fail in the struggle with the landed interest, and the large body of the higher gentry. They will be engrossed by their proper employments ; they too often will become associated on account of their affluence with the

aristocratic interest, and at last too generally incorporated with it.

Political writers of great respect have asserted, that the American War was begun principally with a view of increasing the number of taxes in the kingdom, and by this means of acquiring influence and additional power, in order to depress the people. The truth of such an intention unquestionably is not well founded : but the consequence they infer is certain. Taxation is undoubtedly the most effectual means of overpowering society, and laying it helpless and wretched at the mercy of the sovereign. Nay in truth, extended beyond bounds, as taxation is, and as it must still farther be extended, from our present, and as we may say, our military policy ; the increase of the nobility, and what is its sure and inevitable consequence, of an aristocratic gentry, will become in some measure excusable. For it will be necessary to lay such an additional oppressive weight of taxes upon the people, as the latter will not bear, unless such a gentry concur with the measures of government, and become incorporated with the latter.

The introduction of an aristocratic gentry in fact becomes necessary, as an improvement of finance, when the excise laws are extended, and taxes are let to the best bidders. The proposed form of the new government of Canada is an ap-

posite illustration of this mode of conducting with additional severity the administration of public affairs. The said form seeking to produce influence and power, proposes an order of nobility, created for life, at the arbitrary pleasure of the sovereign, which is a new and hitherto unthought-of improvement upon their subserviency in respect of majesty. It also proposes a wretched shadow of a parliamentary representation, which it can influence at command, and by it, in fact, will acquire and exercise unlimited power over the people; and it divides even Canada into two governments, and unquestionably upon the worst of political principles, illiberal and ungenerous ones! in order that division may impose tyranny upon disunion.

However, the scene is less ominous, when we consider the present great, intrinsic merit and virtues of the British nobility and gentry. For aristocratic tyranny is rare in the kingdom, and where it is at present established, its excess is always greatly moderated by a large proportion of unexceptionable gentry. Even what persons there are of an aristocratic gentry, are often good, seldom bad persons in their natural dispositions, however mistaken their conduct; and are induced to exercise arbitrary power, because they wish to force a country in favour of a minister of state, whom they approve upon principle, or to transmit unbounded influence to their heirs, or, perhaps, to indulge the humours

of others, when they interfere against their wretched neighbours: at the same time their virtues, as their integrity, honour, gallantry of spirit, enterprising activity, courage, cheerfulness, and gaiety, considerably atone for the accidental and unnatural perversion of their minds, and the injuries they commit against society. Some of such a gentry, by want of magnanimity of disposition, are incapable of exercising a tyranny fatal to the interests of society: but as despotism in any shape and degree is ever prejudicial to the interests of humanity, they, too, are injurious to these; for, though they cannot hunt or shoot themselves, they have their gamekeepers, to deprive respectable inferior characters of exercising the rights of nature within their liberties, as they are called. Though they live in the midst of barbarous inaccessible mountains, they at any price purchase the cottage when an opportunity offers, wherein the independent man, in the midst of their large estate, has lived happy upon his competence, in order that such obnoxious characters may never again interfere with them. They with pleasure seduce a young neighbour into aristocracy, and teach him, contrary to the example of his predecessors, to violate the rights of man: nor yet would they, as real tyrants in society, commit a greater wrong than to bring a public canal a few miles out of its proper direction, for

for the convenience, or rather embellishment of their magnificent residences.

However, sometimes even the British gentry forget the rights of humanity, and descend to the worst of aristocratic practices. Some of them have been known in the annals of society to overpower the neighbouring and distant countries with the awe and terror of their indignation, and with a too well-founded apprehension of ruin and oppression. Some few of them, for the ambitious purposes of pride and show, and of acquiring authority and command, have been known, in spite of contrary natural dispositions, to lay aside their probity and integrity, and by any means enlarge their estates; to solicit the decent court of independent minds, in order to expose them to the most lively mortifications of insulting haughtiness, or to make them their friends, and, at the same time, their miserable victims; and solely to concern themselves in the interests of society for the purposes of ostentation and their own aggrandisement. Nay, the ministerial thanks transmitted to Mr. Burke for his late publication, conveyed their gratitude, principally because the pamphlet supported the cause of the gentry. This at least is whispered, and indicates more than a wish to join the disgraceful doctrines of that book in combination with the principles of the British gentry; an union which, thank God, has not as yet taken place, which we trust, at this time, is not

the least probable, and which we earnestly wish may never be possible.

With an aristocratic gentry naturally are connected persons, as agents, to promote the parliamentary and other interests of their employers; or, as spies, to convey to them any information concerning themselves, or their affairs, also news of every kind and tendency. The mischief, misery, and calamity, which persons so employed, cause in society, are very great, as we have seen the consequences of their proceedings. They always greatly exceed their orders, and at the expence of truth, and, as we have known, by attempts to plot away the lives of innocent people. They seldom leave characters of virtue and independence undebased, but prosecute these with uncommon virulence.

The foregoing view we wish to style the tyranny of society, in opposition to the tyranny of the despot seated on the throne of monarchy; and to represent it, as more dreadful and inimical to public welfare and human happiness than the worst oppression of states and nations by the arbitrary mandates of uncontrolled and absolute sovereigns. Such a state of society is in no sense general in this kingdom, but it is too sure to become universal in a short time, unless the people are secured in an adequate parliamentary representation, and the frequent exercise of this important right. When it is once become general, it cannot be removed. Such a state

a state is so frequent in the kingdom, as to require the aid of this remedy, both as a cure and as a prevention of an evil, which is so dreadful, that if a single instance of it only exist partially in the kingdom, it is the duty of Parliament to interfere and remove it. One cause, the natural tendency of whose operation contributes too much to form or to aggravate such a state in society, we have, from motives of respect, forborn to include in the foregoing view; we mean the establishment of justices of the peace, which, if it were only on this account, ought to be controlled by the police, which we have advised in the foregoing chapter, produced from incorporating the magistrates with the proposed presidents of justice.

Thus we have taken a view of the state of the nation, both as it is imperfect and defective, and as it is most materially injured from the want of a proper advancement of the different practical sciences of public welfare. We have farther shown in the calamities which society experiences at large, the bad effects of suffering society to be depressed in the want of an adequate representation of the people in Parliament. Various other circumstances might be added to show the inadequate means, employed for the advancement of the public welfare. It yet remains to take a view of Mr. Pitt's administration, in order to manifest what a difference there exists between the present state of

the kingdom under his administration, and the state, which would be produced through the nation at large, by means of our proposed system of public welfare. The comparison, however, though drawn up at full length, we will not insert. The difference is too manifest to require a particular examination : and the minister without its means, we trust, will finally perceive the true interest of his country, and what redress this requires ; and become the warm advocate and supporter of our proposed fabric of national perfection. In like manner we have not taken notice of the various grievances, which exist in the nation. Indeed, it is unnecessary to dwell on these, for the purpose of showing the present state of society, and the inadequate means made use of to advance and serve it. For, when properly viewed, they exhibit themselves in the most glowing colours, and rightly understood, without the aid of declamation, can either draw the tear of compassion, or excite the horror of astonishment !

The management of public welfare, as this is regarded and promoted in different countries, more especially, it scarce need be added, in Great Britain, we consider in fact as babywork. The attempts of government to advance it are weak and insufficient, like the actions of children, when they imitate the efforts of manhood ; and seldom any attempts of the kind are made at all. No great
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and elevated views are formed for promoting the national prosperity and happiness: and the undertakings instituted for the purpose, such as the late establishment at Nootka Sound, and our different wars, are either weak and absurd, or low and contemptible, or dangerous and destructive. For they are often very mischievous, as the actions of children generally are. For national pursuits of public welfare, there commonly are substituted some specious delusions, often mere speeches and declamations; and when such puerile cockatoos are stripped of their plumage, their vital viscera are found to occupy the smallest dimensions possible. Great enlightened truths, strong and confirmed principles, powerful and strenuous exertions, and eminent legislative abilities seldom are found in our public proceedings, any more than they are in the play of children: and no subjects in the province of national perfection are ever attempted. The public welfare is in a manner a fortuitous contingency. Like a child in arms, it is tossed and agitated at random; and as a serious object, it generally, as a grave infant does, excites laughter in the spectator. As a child it is treated by its nurses; and instead of substantial food it is fed with boily, and a little sugar. Its guardians plunder or neglect its interests: and to lull its cries asleep, is the principal intention of those who are intrusted with its care. A large baby house is built and ornamented for its use:

and here it is kept in great state, and seldom but on holidays, brought before the public.

Its proper habitation even the most great and learned persons have not as yet fixed and ascertained. While government refers it to the patriarchal dominion and tyranny of ancient times, political writers to Mr. Adam Smith's or Sir James Stewart's works, the gentry to courts, the people too often to the arts of embellishment; Dean Swift with great justice has metaphorically placed it in Lilliput, and has allotted public welfare, as it is conducted in Great Britain, such companions, as are very suitable to its modern size. The first system of civilization, or of public welfare, which the world boasts at the present time, certainly is Mr. Lemuel Gulliver's Travels; and the most proper views of it, Swift of all men has certainly entertained, but knew not the means of accomplishing them. He was well convinced it might and ought, in regard to its proper objects, to be enlarged like the productions of Brobdignag, which was the standard by which he determined it ought to be measured.

The two other travels, which he delineates, are strictly connected with his ideas of civilization; and relate respectively to two principal views, which are leading parts in our system of national perfection. One of those regards the genuine and natural force and efficacy of virtue, as almost certain and

irrefrangible.

irresistible to produce its proper effects upon the human mind, when it is right applied. This view in travels designed for the express purpose, he shows, to be true and real in the lords and masters of Houyhnhnms Land, in horses. The view of his other book of travels is of great importance in the practical science of national perfection ; for it shows, in the instance of the inhabitants of Laputa, in what manner the arts of embellishment in general, and the misapplication of time, and talents to learning, instead of useful knowledge, are inimical and fatal to public welfare. The arts of embellishment, among which we include literature and oratory, unquestionably are, in general, very prejudicial to the interests of national perfection, and likewise to the political advancement of regeneration. Neither Junius nor Mr. Burke, nor, perhaps, all the different answerers of the latter, whom we very highly respect for their genius and public spirit, have pointed out any one useful design, in respect of national regeneration or perfection. They in general recommend good principles, and have in this sense already been of great service to the country. They should, however, do infinitely more than this, cultivate and produce the various practical designs of national perfection ; for the accomplishment of which, the cause which they espouse, was solely established. It is those designs, which will

will by their intrinsic merits alone, accomplish the regeneration of Great Britain as they have already effected that of France. Mere political writings engage public attention too much, and abstract it from the consideration of the proper methods of accomplishing a regeneration, such as the present work holds forth, the real support of whose proposed contents, and of the means which it recommends, would naturally and effectually regenerate the kingdom.

We own we wish our work may meet with the attention, which it merits ; for we consider it worthy of the honour of public consideration, as the complete means, or which may, after a moderate time, be rendered so effectual, of regenerating this and all kingdoms into national perfection. Such complete means are wanted, in order that it may for the sake of humanity be adopted by all nations, and be extended into general effect among them. One complete model of national perfection is, no doubt, applicable alike to society in every part of the world, in whatever different situations and conditions it may be placed, provided these are not unnatural or corrupted ones, which, for a short period, require a different treatment. By such a model society should be regulated alike every where, that the world in general may agree in public sentiment and constitution ; and thus mutual friendship and

and esteem become universal, and peace be perpetuated among all nations.

Unfortunately the French regeneration is only perfect by means of the magnanimity and virtue of the nation in general. As a system of regeneration to form national perfection, it is as yet incomplete. The different parts of its government are ill instituted and controlled, and comprehend a sovereign power converted into a mere nugatory service. Its public agency is weak, turbulent, and insufficient, and public business in general, as settled by law, in fact not conducted by an agency, but a democratic government, or rather by several democratic governments. The several departments of the government, with its subordinate powers, as forming one body, are complicated, cumbersome, and too far extended. The views of national improvement and civilization are too much disregarded in it ; and as a complete comprehensive form of economical policy, the whole regeneration as yet very imperfect. So much we would not have spoken in dispraise of the French revolution, if we had not known, how great and numerous, and how exquisitely inestimable its different virtues and merits are ! The French regeneration cannot be disparaged ; it cannot be too much extolled ; with the virtue of the nation it is sure to reach the heights of perfection ! How infinitely

finitely superior is it to the Lilliput management of public welfare in other nations, whose policy, as Swift in his time, depicted in the fancied island of that name, is still weak and little, mean and corrupt, proud and haughty, mischievous and vindictive !

The most just view of the management and conduct, respecting the public welfare of Great Britain, is that of the state of a child, as Dean Swift has very beautifully, and, indeed, very happily illustrated it ! The view is still more fortunate, as it is highly conducive to the most adviseable design of improving such baby management and conduct, which we therefore need not deplore with a general mourning, or with the national indignation. We should only laugh very heartily at it, as at the child, and insist on this, long come to maturity, assuming its proper character of manhood ! Ascending from such a puerile state, nor recollecting boyish offences, let us all with one mind elevate and aggrandise public affairs by that proper standard, which God has in his destined mercies to society, now likely to be fulfilled, ordained to be national perfection. Thus let us enjoy all the great and infinite blessings, which this standard measures for the proper welfare and requisite happiness of mankind, neither with a scanty portion, nor with any excess.

Ye Cultivators of public welfare ! Ye lovers of patriotic virtue ! Studious of useful knowledge, and uniting this pursuit with either ability or taste for letters !

We next address ourselves to you, sincerely anxious of being honoured with your attention, and well acquainted with the importance of the great services, which it is in your power to afford for the advancement of public virtue and philanthropy. Their cause we proceed with humble submission to plead before you. Oh ! listen therefore to our feeble, and short harangue, with attention ; support us according to the merits of the cause, and not the abilities, which defend it, and respect the throne of public virtue and philanthropy, from which we address you !

The system of public welfare, which we propose, affords you a very favourable opportunity of employing your time, and abilities in favour of your country : therefore in a very earnest manner we call upon you to advance your support in its favour. It is scientific, and consists of twelve divisions, or sciences. Each of these requires the aid and advantage of study and cultivation. And it is very important, that the whole of them be put together with care and art. Surely the essential interests of society, which are very loosely attended to, and which never before the present attempt have been combined into one general and

comprehensive view, are at least of so much importance, as to deserve a regular arrangement and an appropriate system. The different sciences, which comprehend those interests respectively, are strong supports to one another, and united, facilitate, advance, and complete the whole system. But the system is in a particular manner a distinct art in itself, the art of making a great state, nation or empire, as lately, by its means, the immortal Czar Peter in a short space of time effected without much difficulty through the most extensive empire of Europe. As an art, it principally consists in information, and useful knowledge, and in practical abilities, adequate to execute and carry such knowledge into effect. The means, which correspond to these principles, are not natural ones, ready at our hands, but must actually be acquired, and they can only be acquired by a direct application for the purpose, and by familiarity with them. It is solely in this manner, as the Czar condescended, by much observation and attention paid to them, and by the actual labour and exercise of employing and practising them in frequent and great designs of public welfare, that we become proficients in the art.

The art in this country, such is our real misfortune! such are the baby practices of statesmen and learned philosophers! is only a mere speculation, or an empty embellishment. For our econo-

oeconomical and political authors are speculatists, and our ministers orators ; and proportionably as they write or speak well, we call them men of great and wonderful public abilities. Mr. Pitt was an orator, at the usual period of the appearance of the powers of eloquence : he was therefore advanced to the administration of public affairs at an age, when he could not possibly have amassed an adequate collection of useful knowledge, or have acquired executive habits in active practices of public welfare. Smith's political writings, in general, greatly exceed speculation, but they are of little service to this country, because practical designs have not been built upon them. The chief uses, which we have made of them, are two or three taxes, which we have borrowed from them, in addition to the public burthens.

Eloquence and literature are mere vehicles of civilization, and cannot be considered even as speculations on this subject ; at the same time they are equally arts of embellishment, as music and painting. They are, however, substituted for the practical system of public welfare, by means of which we propose to aggrandize and perfect Great Britain and its empire, and are thus become the most fatal obstructions to the advancement of the public interests. They are, uncombined with useful knowledge and practical abilities, only means of amusement and gratification to the ears

and the passions, or the means of public delusion and destruction, or of seizing the honours and emoluments of the State ; and are employed as mere pretences of capacity to serve the public, being no more able to make a great empire than the vocal powers of music, or the bow and the catgut, and the rest of their kindred arts. They afford no other advantages than merely words, the beauties of language, nice discriminations, infinitude of ideas upon simple subjects, metaphors, comparisons, and long-winded productions in laboured writings, and diffuse harangues.

They have in numerous instances deprived and divested men of great abilities of the discriminating powers of truth and judgement, which are the fundamental and indispensable means of attempting and accomplishing all great, and general public designs and undertakings. The want of those, where the powers and graces of oratory and literature are not unhappily blended, has been particularly remarkable in Mr. Burke's late publication ; for the several positions and doctrines of this work, excepting the few we have quoted, are in a most shameful manner erroneous, as being simply stated, they immediately refute themselves.

In other instances, the literary philosopher is often the greatest and worst enemy to the progress of civilization. His embellished labours, by means of their captivating allurements, not only

draw off the attention of mankind from the commendable consideration and pursuit of their proper welfare : he himself becomes the unhappy prey of internal vexations and disappointments, when he finds in the regeneration of national perfection his speculative ideas and notions, collected from every source, and with which his own admiration has long been enraptured, are of no longer avail, and his great renown and importance lost or obscured. He therefore turns the impious blasphemer and the perfidious betrayer of the means of promoting the welfare and happiness of man and of society. In fine, public welfare and language, whether this latter be written or spoken, have no natural association. Fiddling is in itself as serviceable to a nation as words, as fine writing, and great oratory; and is only inferior to these, because it wants the expression necessary to explain the doctrines of civilization.

Ye Cultivators of public welfare ! permit us next to point out to you the several proper means, which public virtue and philanthropy from their sacred recesses enjoin you should pursue, for the introduction of such a system of public welfare, as we propose, adequate and necessary to redress public affairs, to complete national perfection, and to substitute for baby toys a manly system of civilization. You should above all things maintain the purity of patriotic intention,

as these ought to be divested of all party, self-interested innovations, or rebellious views, and solely regard the public welfare. Rather with prepossession in their favour, than with prejudice against them, attend to the interests of kings in the regeneration of nations, and pay a due respect to their great political importance in every good form of government, of which kings are an essential part, as we have already proved. More especially such dutiful conduct will prove the means of rendering universal the national regeneration, which we recommend. This general extension of national perfection, as we have elsewhere shown, would be very useful both to the individual and collectively to all the several nations, who partake of it. As there is necessarily but one proper form of national perfection, the universal establishment of this in all states and nations would form a combination of the whole world into one body. Thus society in general, as animal commonwealths, such as those of bees and others, would pursue the same views, be governed in a similar manner; and very seldom if ever disagree and become hostile, because they would be alike directed and influenced.

More especially you ought, ye illustrious Cultivators of public virtue! to act with a proper energy and spirit, in the introduction of national regeneration, and in its cause to engage with the most undaunted and irresistible gallantry. This is necessary, if you mean to be serviceable to your country

country on this occasion. Such vigour and activity, accompanied with good intentions, will secure you success and victory on the cheapest terms. For you will observe that the execution of the plan, which is advised, and also put in practice, in this publication, is sufficient, if it should be properly seconded, to accomplish national perfection ; but it cannot be considered by any fair and impartial judge, as treasonable, or as blameable in any sense. It is a design perfectly coincident with the divine intentions and purposes of society : it is the dictate of reason and the law of humanity : it is strictly legal, because the great and leading principle of the British Constitution strictly enjoins the most earnest promotion of the public welfare. It is, therefore, fostered and advanced by the powerful and congenial warmth and influence of the Constitution itself, as well as by the divine intentions of Providence, and the dictates of reason and humanity.

As the success of the attempt depends upon the general consideration of the subject through the society at large, you should diffuse the knowledge of it through the kingdom, with every possible exertion of literature, with the glowing warmth of patriotism, and with all its natural irresistible allurements. Nor less depend on the goodness of your cause, on the sound foundations which support it, and on the complacency, and tranquil

tenour, which are congenial to it. You should spare no pains to make proselytes to the enlightened views of public welfare, nor despair to convert the lawyers in general. You should frequently converse upon the subject ; and you should render it plain and familiar to even the lowest members of society, for all alike are interested in it. In frequent consultation you should advance the knowledge of it. You should be very modest in your judgement, and respectful to each other's opinions, because the subject is so little understood in this kingdom, that you may consider yourselves as wholly ignorant in respect of national perfection. As truth and the public welfare are the objects in view, and both are very plain and simple in their nature, you may without difficulty preserve unanimity. But if diversity of sentiment too much prevail, and become violent, suspect either your hearts or your judgements to be depraved and unsuitable to the object of your common pursuit ; and make unanimity, as it has in general been in France among the supporters of it, the criterion of the proper conduct and direction of national regeneration.

But the proper mode of cultivating the subject of national regeneration and perfection is the most interesting and essential to its success. Adequate industry you will not refuse to bestow upon the subject : nor will it require near so much time and

and attention, as what a naturalist dedicates to his study of insects or shells, or an antiquarian to the collection of Grecian and Roman medals. Let just views of the subject and truth alone direct and determine your judgements; nor trust to theory or to reasoning. Thus the greatest and most extensive general designs of public welfare can be previously ascertained with a certainty, that in practice they will answer their intentions. It is to this test, that the volatile genius of the French nation has submitted, and by this means it has always carried its numerous, comprehensive, and arduous plans of national regeneration into certain effect. Take the most wide and comprehensive views of the interests of society, none of which should or can be omitted in a design of national perfection: and establish them into public designs according to the standard, which God has ordained for the happiness and advancement of society. Thus, too, have the French patriots attempted to soar, and in the sublimity of their attempts have, in a great measure, found the means of their success. Most happily have they in general combined together truth and certainty, and the universal views of the interests of society. Above all other objects explore useful knowledge; bring this forwards as much as possible, in the light and situation of a great and most momentous public object; as cognoscenti, collect all the various specimens of

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public virtue; and combine the useful knowledge with the means of carrying it into execution. With these means become familiar, and frequently exercise yourselves in practical habits of enterprize: and endeavour all in your power to animate useful speculations into real existing objects, and to render them beneficial and serviceable to the public.

National improvement is an art, which greatly depends on the proper and happy application of the means, it employs to accomplish its different purposes: but the means too often are professed, yet not directed, so as in any sense to accomplish their proposed purposes. Thus our voluminous financiers and agriculturists are of little avail in redressing the finances, or in perfecting the agriculture of the kingdom: for they do not render their knowledge practical, and applicable in respect of these important purposes.—The mice in the fable were well acquainted with the service, which they should derive from hanging the bell around the neck of their natural enemy: but not till late in the debate, by the information of one of their oldest counsellors, were aware, that the principal merit consisted not in knowing the service, but in accomplishing it.—At present this country is not versed in devising and framing plans of public welfare, as we know well in respect of our parliaments. These are very very well aware, how useful a reform of the Poor laws, an establish-

ment of a police, a greater abundance of provisions, or an unexceptionable abolition of the slave trade, would prove to the country; but, like the assembly of the cheese-eating tribe, they are ignorant of the means, most essentially necessary to accomplish those and similar public objects.

We would, therefore, very earnestly recommend to persons studious of public knowledge, and who wish to regenerate the kingdom into its proper national perfection, to accustom themselves to explore and devise the means for accomplishing great national designs; to provide themselves with resources and expedients for the purpose; and to acquire a readiness, expertness, and masterly ability in drawing up general plans of national importance. They will soon acquire an adequate ability, and find it no greater trouble than that at first of blotting a few sheets of waste paper. They must be sensible, that a little practice of the kind is unavoidably necessary in regard to so important a subject, not less so than with regard to composing music. Indeed, we have great ability and taste in respect of the latter, but as yet we have not acquired as much as an ear, a taste, much less a turn for composing plans of public welfare. Too probably we might lay the most excellent plans, if we should produce such of public welfare, before the nation at this time, with no better consequences than jewels before the uninformed herds.

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The nation will thus, ye Cultivators of public virtue! in your labours, be sure to find, that it contains more numerous resources than France, with which it may unquestionably regenerate its affairs; and that the completion of national perfection is not a difficult, but an easy and simple undertaking. Perhaps our different works afford a very favourable opportunity for acquiring the art, as we may call it, of such a practical ability of public regeneration, along with the several very necessary concomitant ideas of patriotism, which ought to be connected with it. The whole subject is reduced to perfect order, as well as matured and completed, by the present publication: the works on the royal regeneration of Great Britain, and on the finances, are very comprehensive systems of national perfection; and our work on the aggrandisement of Great Britain, contains several practical subjects not advanced in the others, and it will even render great services, as it shews the fault of too warm a sensibility of the patriotic mind, and the advancement of this last in the formation of its proper powers, adequate to the establishment of national regeneration. A study of the foregoing kind, as recommended, being pursued for two or three months, will make any person of education an able proficient in civilization: and we dare engage, if the members of the larger public assemblies of the nation would employ themselves, during

During the ensuing recess, in the study we recommend, they would, by the next winter, complete themselves in the doctrines and means of civilization, and return to town in ability and knowledge equal to discharge their duties, as the benefactors of their country.

The undertaking, which, ye Cultivators of public virtue ! you attempt to form and introduce for the regeneration of the society, should be as complete, and comprehensive, as you can possibly produce it ; and should not be short of that system of public welfare, which we style national perfection. Such an extensive undertaking will not be found too arduous to execute, and in its combined services will afford the most effectual means of obviating and removing all particular objections and difficulties which may occur : and by the national support it will be readily and easily carried into effect. Being universal, it will, on account of its great importance, and most highly interesting nature, rouse and animate the people in its favour, and from this incentive will be as speedily accomplished, as a similar one has been in France. Whereas a most stale proposal of accomplishing an adequate representation of the people in Parliament will scarce gain the public attention for a moment. How unlike the regeneration of France will any attempt of merely accomplishing such a paltry object, appear to the world ! And why would we

not imitate so great a pattern, or differ from it, but by rendering it complete? But it is impossible you can in any sense regenerate the kingdom, unless, at least, you enter into the views of perfecting and completing five or six of the different sciences of public welfare which we have proposed. So far necessarily were the National Assembly obliged to proceed in the regeneration of France; and surely we ought to comprehend as many objects in respect of that of Great Britain. Nor ought we to exclude, on any account, the remaining sciences of public welfare from the undertaking, as being of equal or greater consequence to the national interests and to private happiness, more especially as the three universal sciences of benevolence are included in the number. The lever which is to move a nation, must be generally applied. The object of such a power is the great purchase of it, by which it produces its effect: and it cannot be much less than is sufficient, nor will be impeded by making it equal, to accomplish the great design of national perfection, the means of which we announce. A design which the lately departed and truest friend of liberty and humanity predicted to the world in a sermon, he preached a few years ago. Let us honour his memory, by adopting the design in its most comprehensive form; and render the justice due to the name of him, who, during the American war, happily and effectually

effectually maintained and revived the expiring liberties of this kingdom, and whose judgement the minister has followed, though in a very imperfect manner, in the establishment of a sinking fund, in order gradually to lessen and discharge the public debt.

One object, ye Cultivators of public welfare! we would particularly at this time recommend for your adoption, is the establishment of what we call Alfredian societies of civilization through the kingdom at large. One of these, as the principal and leading society of the kingdom, should be established in London, in addition to the royal and the antiquarian, and the society of arts: and its object, and the object, formation, and views of the others should be the same, ought to be, to promote the earnest cultivation and effectual advancement of the twelve different sciences of public welfare, according to the most adviseable means for the purpose; but more especially according to the principles and views of national improvement, as a science, which we have already explained and proposed at some length. The three societies we mentioned, as at present established in London, are but passive recipients, or little better than such, of information, and in no sense, all taken together, form a body adequate to the intentions of national improvement and perfection. The Alfredian society we propose, would, in a very different manner from these, be

busily employed in actually promoting and cultivating the different objects of its institution, by its own most earnest endeavours, so far as its finances might allow or be possibly rendered adequate. For this purpose among other means, it should constantly employ, two, three, or four secretaries, or other persons, as circumstances will permit, in ascertaining, exploring, and advancing, and in extending every where the knowledge and accomplishment of civilization, and of whatever is useful to society. Also with the same views, its different members should according to suitable committees be disposed, and by every proper practical device, be rendered effectual cultivators of so comprehensive a science, as national perfection.

Unquestionably, such a society once instituted, on the footing of a very small annual subscription, would be well supported, as its proper rank and dignity could not fail of distinguishing it in the most eminent manner; and the most beneficial information, which it would afford of public affairs and national objects in general, would draw to it, as members, all persons interested in the general welfare. Such regulations, as would be wanted to make the society in an unexceptionable manner and permanent form, answer the intentions and purposes of its institution, we can readily produce; more especially we can provide, that such

a society may pursue with steadiness and effect the proper views of its establishment, and not swerve from these intentions, so as in any degree to prejudice the public interests. In a particular manner we would guard the sacred interests of sovereigns in such an institution. A form of oath of admission, similar to the following, might be happily adapted to the several purposes of the institution ; the members might affirm upon their honours, " that so long as they remained in the society, they would endeavour ardently and sincerely to advance, and promote all the various different interests of truth, of their king, and of their country ; and to render them by all means in their power mutual and consistent with respect to one another." By other devices, all tumults, or indecencies, all prolixity of speaking and wandering from the subject might be readily prevented ; and fundamental laws might be made to consider these, as being out of order, which the president, or any member might restrain at pleasure by calling to order.

Similar societies to this we would propose to establish, where they are admissible, through the kingdom at large ; at least one in every county ; the practicability of which is evinced in the societies, which are frequent in the kingdom, for the encouragement of agriculture. The immortal Alfred with his own hands diffused the means of civilization every where through the kingdom. In-

stitutions of civilization, like the present societies proposed, in themselves advancing and generating civilization, as well as receiving the knowledge of it from various other sources, must, as an addition, be very valuable improvements upon his labours. Such societies too would naturally communicate, or publish their discoveries to the world. Thus they would at no very distant period complete the knowledge, which they are intended to advance, become proficients, and practise it with the greatest advantage, and be certain to carry it into proper effect. All lesser societies of similar views, such as those of agriculture above mentioned, might be happily incorporated with the Alfredian societies; for the respective views and purposes of the lesser ones would be effectually promoted by the greater force and power of the larger societies, which might, however, in their turn be considerably strengthened by the accession of several smaller ones.

A similar Alfredian society of civilization should form a part of the executive government; and be erected into a board of state. Nor would this differ from the other societies; but as possessing adequate resources for its expences, it would be able to take the most effectual measures, both in employing a sufficient number of subordinate cultivators, and in affording them the necessary means, for the completion of the proposed system of public

lic welfare, and national perfection. At the same time the general Alfredian societies, proposed to be instituted in the metropolis and the country, would very considerably assist and contribute to the views and purposes of that under government. This too might very beneficially be employed in a proper department under it, as an executive means, for carrying into effect, or superintending different national improvements.

Nor, ye liberal Cultivators of public virtue ! consider it too presumptuous in us to recommend our different works to you, as a complete system of public welfare. For if they are equal to this character, your support of them is, perhaps, alone sufficient to effect and establish the important object of national perfection, which they attempt to introduce ; at least your support, afforded to them, will render them of great service to the cause. A system of public welfare, perfectly complete, as we certainly wish our own to be, deserves to be presented to the world with proper respect and dignity, and on account of society, and not the author, ought to be recommended to notice, approbation, and your adoption. In a proper manner recommended, it would operate upon the public, as a charm, and like the French regeneration, accomplish itself by its own virtues, and intrinsic merits. It might, happily for this purpose, be represented, not as the production of a partisan or of an enthu-

fiast, but of a real lover and benefactor of mankind. It might be said to be found in the fields of cultivation, as the ancient Saxon civilization is reported to have been matured in the woods. It might be styled the great discovery of the eighteenth century, adequate, until the world be no more, to set society right according to the intentions of the Almighty. However, if our labours possess any merit, this may be serviceable to your endeavours, ye Cultivators of public welfare ! and we shall be quite satisfied, if your labour may be so far lessened in attempting the comprehensive design of national perfection. At any rate, the assiduous employment of your time and abilities cannot fail of providing for your country, and the world in general, that system and means of civilization, which will answer every purpose of national regeneration and perfection.

Permit us in this place, ye Cultivators of public welfare ! to add a few particular observations in regard to our works, which have a personal reference to ourselves. From the constitution of society, as it actually exists, from actual great, and arduous labours for the purposes of national improvement, we have drawn and established our proposed system of public welfare. These are the only means we know, which are adequate to accomplish this object in a proper extensive manner, and in an apposite form. But the proud and haughty

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ministers of modern governments deign not to submit to the labours necessary to acquire the practical ability of improvement; and are unacquainted with the interests of man, as an individual member of society, and what are the proper means of advancing them. Our destiny has led us to pursue and acquire those means of advancing the public welfare. We began long ago with the device of various plans or designs, to improve and perfect the interests of large portions of the community, which were very backward in their civilization. These, subject to all the distress and misery, experienced in the ruin and devastation of society, showed us the causes of their misfortunes, and at the same time the means of redressing them. Very early we drew up for the relief of the town of Berndcastle, as we think, the happiest piece of civilization, which we have produced; and provided for it wealth, trade, agriculture, police, and wholesome directions of every kind, sufficient to make it as great and happy, as we wished it to be. Not less pains did we take in respect of the wild uncultivated and extensive parish of Bowes. We devised, in what manner now the improvements, which this required, might be accomplished, and ascertained their effects on a large scale.

These things we did, while we were employed in the investigation of different national improvements. In the mean while, the interests of society

in a beautiful manner presented themselves to our view ; opened all their different shades and dells, their various rills and meandering paths ; and at last exhibited the great and glorious prospect of the perfection of humanity. At last the enchanting scenery of the divine civilization of society burst upon our view ; manifested this, as a state worthy of heavenly munificence, and justified the ways of God to man. At last we ascended from the improvement of agriculture, to the completion and embellishment of the national perfection both of Great Britain and of the World itself. At last we produce one form of national regeneration and perfection, which is suitable and accords to all states, and nations, and would complete their welfare and happiness : at the same time we are able to execute, better than we narrate, our different proposals and improvements.

We, however, attempt not to be the reformer, but merely the benefactor of society. We wish not to load this with rigour and formality, or to dispel its good humour and gaiety ; but to diffuse grace, embellishment, and splendor over all the public establishments, and to produce general ease and convenience, content and happiness in this occasional sublunary home. We have been anxious in our proposed improvements to preserve the common usages and practices of mankind, and have on all occasions respected the general opinions

opinions of the world. We have never attempted to violate what is right in society, but have always venerated the intentions of nature and Providence; where there are concomitant errors, we carefully preserve what is not erroneous: and we principally endeavour, in our attempts of advancing the public welfare, to make great and extensive additions in favour of the interests of society. Our proposed improvements are never injurious to individuals: they annul no establishments, or if they do, they increase their number in some different respect, or commute them with greater benefit to the parties concerned. They depress not, but on the contrary, they elevate all individuals, all professions, and all interests. As in life, and in its most trying situations we have strictly directed our conduct by the laws of integrity, honour, humanity, and consistency, so far as mistakes may not have proceeded from too studious habits, so we in a public character, if we may view ourselves in this light, with equal virtue propose to promote the advancement of the public interests of society, and of our country.

Gentlemen! the illustrious Cultivators of public welfare and virtue! we most earnestly exhort you to provide for the public all the means, which are necessary to complete the national perfection. The banquet, which its twelve practical sciences present to society, is as plenteous, salutary, and

congenial to human nature, as it is great, majestic, and magnificent. You, we consider, as the stewards of the divine banquet : you we wish to commission from the divine powers of public virtue and philanthropy, to prepare it, to see it properly arranged, and to invite the guests, destined to partake of it. The different pursuits of less useful knowledge, or of letters, or learning in general, to which you may be attached, will not to the divine agencies of public virtue and philanthropy, from whom we address you, vindicate your neglect of the present charge. For if Cicero had taken as much pains to understand the interests of society, as he did to acquire the different powers and graces of oratory, he would most certainly have been able to have rescued in time the Roman empire from tyranny and destruction. Reverse the baby state of the public welfare, by a great and manly elevation of national views and corresponding measures, suited to the divine intention of society ; and induce the people to co-operate with you in this exalted and sublime intention of promoting the public welfare by the only effectual means. Consider in such a great design, the outlines of which we have fully given you, you may as safely as we publish this pamphlet, and even by advertisement, assemble to consider of the means of regenerating a kingdom into national perfection. Call, therefore, upon the great and

eminent characters of the kingdom, to meet and consult with you, and to lend you their important assistance. Entertain no fears or apprehensions of the little baby-directors, alas! of the important and interesting concerns of society, who never regard and promote plans of public welfare; or are puerile and weak in regard to them, yet are mischievous as children, with this difference only, that they do not wantonly murder sparrows, but, by their wars, men and whole communities. Oh! lose no time! Make no delay in promoting the important interests of society! *Animate the people by devising proper plans for abolishing or commuting the tythes, or redressing the law. Or snatch the nation from the horrors of war, e'er it be too late, by perfecting the interests of civilization and humanity, over which you particularly preside!* Otherwise, with too great reason, be afraid! if you can prevent the present imminent one, that before three months succeed, a war will, in the present wretched state of political arrangements, break out from some other quarter, and, perhaps, prove general over the world.

Ye People of Great Britain and of the Empire!

A&ttuated with the warmest emotions for your welfare and happiness, we, from the inspiration of the purest philanthropy, invite you to partake of the various benefits and advantages of national perfection,

fection, which we have explained in the preceding Chapter, as a banquet which the Almighty has ordained for the general welfare, and the daily use and service of society. We are anxious that you should enjoy in society, as it was destined by the Almighty to be formed great and complete, all the several blessings of humanity. As society was intended to be by the Almighty, it would have been a wonderful great blessing to mankind : therefore, in order to render it such a blessing, we recommend to you fully to contribute your share in the introduction of the system of public welfare, which we propose, by attending to the following particulars, which the sacred impulses of public virtue and philanthropy alone urge us to point out to you.

You should perfectly understand the nature of liberty, and enlighten your minds on a subject, concerning which the other states of Europe in general are better informed ; and thus finding, that you do not possess it, as we have proved before, vindicate your right to it for yourselves, for your country, and for your prosperity. You seem never to have been properly possessed of liberty ; and at this time, as you think in general concerning liberty, you are absolute Tories, for which too just observation, we are indebted to Sir Brook Boothby's answer to Mr. Burke. The possession of liberty, you may consider as fully obtained in general, by two means, first, by biennial parliaments, properly repre-

representative of the people, and regularly chosen in your respective districts of habitation, whether there is a competition of candidates or not ; a certain majority in this case of the freeholders of the county or city, being necessary to approve of any candidate. This will secure you proper respect, as well as cause due attention to be paid to your interests; for the frequent exercise of your elective rights is of great importance both to your interests and to your advancement, as men; and should never be suffered to depend on any interested combination of gentlemen of great fortunes, who will very seldom or very partially allow you the exercise of them. In the second place, by your acquiring an actual power and influence in government itself, by means of some remodification of the ancient Folkmote, which we have already explained, and which was once a part of the government of this country. For a sole and absolute dependence on your representatives in Parliaments and on the House of Peers, is not sufficient for your security and the public welfare ; and is the cause, why government is become so corrupt, and the crown has acquired its present unbounded and unlimited power and influence. Therefore, on this last account, it seems very adviseable for you to adopt certain of those alterations in government, which we have in the preceding part of this work recommended.

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But whether you adopt this last proposal or not, at this time it is highly adviseable that you should regenerate the kingdom into national perfection : for we imagine no one will deny the use and necessity of this service. The establishment of national perfection, however, cannot be effected but by a general consideration of, and assent to the subject on the part of the whole community : otherwise national perfection cannot be legally established, as the present government was never intrusted with any powers, (for government is a mere trust, which is revocable) to make so great an alteration in respect of the society. Otherwise, unless you come forward, there appears not the least likelihood of the redress of your grievances, nor even of a cessation of the endless wars, and of the successive additional taxes of the kingdom. You, as the people, must be the judges, must be actors on this occasion. Either the present government must act with as sincere patriotism and philanthropy as yourselves ; conform and listen to your wishes and your voices, as generally known ; establish as the public welfare requires it, national perfection with your approbation ; and accommodate itself to the establishment of national perfection. Or you yourselves must stand up as men, for the occasion justifies the greatest possible exertions on your part for the good of your country ; exercise the rights of men, both in yourselves and in your delegates ;

delegates; and perfect whatever Divine views of national perfection, truth and reason enjoin, should at the present hour be appointed for the advancement of your country. The constitution, the public welfare, God and nature, all warrant you in this proceeding: and thus the establishment of national perfection laughs at the imputation of rebellion, and despises the mandates of a thousand tyrants!

But it is almost a wild supposition to make, that between you, and the three departments of government, there will be any difference of opinion in respect of the introduction of national perfection. For why may they not be as patriotic as you? Will they not equally see its propriety, necessity, and importance? Do you glow with the warmth of patriotism, and the enthusiasm of humanity! Do you sincerely and strenuously discharge your duties to your country! They, no doubt, will kindle with your warmth; and burn with your philanthropy. Why should they not? The establishment of national perfection is no subversion of the constitution, only an improvement of it; and, in the sense we propose it, is an addition to, and the completion of it. Do we attempt to subvert the House of Lords, or injure their privileges and prerogatives? No! we propose an additional Folk-mote to government, which would allow the House of Lords to remain, as it is at present, invested with its several powers and privileges, and, at the same

same time, would constitute one of the best forms of government in the world. We have often canvassed the services of a nobility in society ; for we have been greatly oppressed our wholelife by a nobleman, whom yet we excuse on account of his various and numerous virtues, on his being, perhaps, ignorant of the injuries he was doing us ; on his appendages and not himself being the cause of our misfortunes. We, however would, though we will not oppose our compatriots on the subject, recommend the support of the nobility, as being serviceable in numerous respects ; as it may be prevented from injuring society, by the variety of modes of elevating the people, which we propose with this view ; and if any little objections should not be removed by these means, as it would answer the purpose of a zest to give society a better relish and a solid comparative satisfaction in the equality and liberty, we suppose it will otherwise enjoy. We do not even propose to annihilate the corrupt boroughs : and the supreme government would find little trouble worth regarding in the introduction of national perfection, if it would commission a board of national improvement to prepare and frame the designs of it with real sincerity and philanthropy. Thus we engage to set right and complete all the different sciences of public welfare ; and render national perfection in future, a much easier state of

society to manage and regulate, than the present abortive and stunted growth of it.

Objections in respect of national perfection are not to be attended to: for it is a design, which towers sublime in itself alone, and is out of the reach of the historical precedents of past times; and its powers of enterprize readily can vanquish, in general, the surmised obstacles of great men, whose genius, or whose information is speculative. Mr. Burke has done very ill to interfere on this subject in any shape, as he is perfectly ignorant in regard to it. Government is a very imperfect institution at the present time: for it is very productive of public calamity, is in no sense creative of national improvement and advantage, and is the contrary and reverse of what it ought to be, the resemblance, or rather the means of that state of national perfection, which this pamphlet, as a mirror, holds up to the world. Government is, in general, a public combination against the interests of society, and fatally encroaches upon private happiness. Mr. Burke knows not yet what good government is, and has mistaken for it what is wretched bad government; he is an orator, a literatist, a theorist on the subject; he has never studied or accomplished any part of national perfection. His late great presumption; therefore, is wholly unpardonable!

Ye People! you should never again place that implicit confidence in the promises of great men, which prevents yourselves from attending to, and redressing public affairs. For, in the first place, great men are at this time generally very ignorant in public affairs, in the proper modes of setting them right, and in that great comprehensive wisdom, which for the adequate advancement of public affairs is absolutely required. To your idle credulous confidence it is owing, that the present state of society, and the different sciences of public welfare, remain in so wretched a condition : for how is it possible such persons whom you trust, should redress public affairs, and promote the national improvements? In the second place, they really have no intention of serving the public for the good of society, and let this suffer the greatest misery or distress, they never voluntarily move and concern themselves for its relief. Like incendiaries setting fire to houses in order to pilfer them, who commit much mischief for the sake of a small gain ; modern administrations, for little corrupt purposes, deprive society of an infinite number of the greatest and most valuable blessings of humanity. Be not deceived with great names, and the fame and reputation of extraordinary abilities, such as the acquired palm of eloquence, elegant compositions, or venal presses can bestow ; believe us, no real exertions, or great abilities, are displayed in modern

modern politics, or in the conduct of government at the present day. For, after perusing the preceding pages, if you examine Mr. Pitt's ministerial conduct and character, which can have no other pretences to your applause, deserving of national regard, than what he has done respecting politics and finance, you will observe, like his predecessors, he has, in fact, rendered no public services to the nation, worthy mentioning. Stocks have rose in their value by the industry, activity, and riches of the people alone. No public wealth Mr. Pitt has created and produced by his financial abilities. On the contrary, he has considerably exhausted the national wealth, and has merely introduced a little œconomy into some of the departments of state, while his preparations of armaments never employed, have, in a very great measure, anticipated the actual means and sinews of carrying on war itself. You, infinitely too kind, very absurdly ascribe to him the present state of public credit, which your commerce, your income, and your labours have accomplished.

Ye people of Great Britain ! estimate your own worth and merits ! The flame of patriotism ceases to burn, and to cast its light over this kingdom. You should, therefore, invigorate and revive it with its ancient illuminating powers. It is necessary to rekindle it for the great purpose of regenerating the public affairs into national perfection. It is neces-

sary to re-excite it ; for within a few years, such alarming great inroads, as by letting taxes to the best bidders, and by the extension of the excise laws, have been made upon the constitution, that it is necessary to oppose them with the united voice of the whole nation. You have, in general, forgot your country in its true interests ; but you need not be restrained from returning to these on account of your attachment to the Crown. You may love at the same time, both your king and your country ; and you may love your king inexpressibly more than you do at present, as the father of his people, aiding and abetting you to accomplish and distribute through society the great, infinite, indescribable blessings of national perfection. For he should lend you his services on this occasion, as he owes you great and infinite returns for the services, which you have rendered him, for the battles you have fought for his glory, for the seas of blood you have shed in his service, for the immense taxes, which you bear on his account. Do you in his private virtues not bury your love and veneration for your country : and let your sovereign in the unparalleled conflux and tides of loyalty and affection, with which you have surrounded and embraced him since the fatal loss of America, dismiss all unnecessary fears and apprehensions, in order to make the proper returns of gratitude to his great and magnanimous, his liberal and generous,

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his true and dutiful subjects. You may justly ascribe the present state of public welfare in this kingdom to your own exertions and merits; and be not so sordid, ye affluent! in your hoarded stores and in your massy piles of manufactures, as to forget the interests of your country at large, and the numerous wants and miseries, which the greatest part of the community most unhappily experience at the present time. Trade and wealth, let them flourish ever so much, very imperfectly supply the lower classes with provisions and necessaries, still less so, where taxes are numerous and excessive. Agriculture highly encouraged, but altogether neglected by government, can alone supply in an adequate manner the lower classes with the food and necessaries of life, for want of which in most parts of the kingdom they are at present wretched and miserable.

You should, ye People! no longer pay attention to ministerial writings of any kind, which are always hired, and therefore mean, and intend and strive all in their power to deceive you! This is their end: your duty to your country requires you not to read them, but to read the enlightened publications of the day, and to contemplate the national improvements. How many, who have lately praised Mr. Burke's publication, now wish, for the honour of their own understandings, that they had never read it! To give an idea of the danger

of such writings, there is one lately published by a person, said to stand high in ministerial confidence, which denies the people the possession of any rights at all, ascribes to Kings and Lords natural and independent privileges, powers, and prerogatives, and derives their claims from God, as he is said to have given these to the patriarchs and kings in the Old Testament. God certainly never has, priestcraft alone has sanctioned the claims of the latter, as this intelligence is conveyed to us : and we trust from our fervent zeal to promote religion, that the Church may some time be induced to confirm this opinion, in support of its own welfare and dignity, and separate the spurious from the Divine parts of the Scripture.

You should at least regard your own majesty, the majesty of the people ; and accordingly insist with adequate spirit and energy, on the general establishment of your lawful dignity and elevation through the society at large. For you are not designed and created by God and Nature to be fools ; to be murdered by constant wars ; not to enjoy the fruits of your industry, but to be loaded with constant additional taxes ; to have an inadequate representation in parliament ; to pay blind submission to weak, headstrong governments ; to be ever kept in a most low and groveling state, and to be the eternal destined victims of Botany Bays ; to be for ever neglected and deprived of the various great services, which

which flow from a proper cultivation and advancement of the different blessings of public welfare. Is it not sufficient, that indigence through the country in general, pines in want of necessary provisions, and of the comforts of life, which at this time it does in a very great extent, whether greatness or luxury do, or do not observe it ; that merit lies every where friendless and prostrate ; that a neighbour generally has an enemy or a prosecutor in his neighbour ; that misery in various respects sheds its unavailing sighs and tears over the land ; that tythes, the law, and other infinite grievances lay the axe to the root of private happiness ? Is it not sufficient, that there is an absolute want of spirit to redress a state of society like this ? Shall we patiently observe this state increasing ? Shall we take no notice of the different causes, which produce this state, every where enlarging themselves in all their dimensions ? Shall we not attend to the undermining influence of the Crown ? Nor to our frequent wars and intermediate armaments, which may be considered as a new and unknown improvement upon wars, to taxes heaped upon taxes, following so rapidly as scarce possible to be numbered ; the former disturbing or threatening the whole world, the latter invading every necessary of life, and afflicting with new distresses every individual subject.

Your honour, ye People! on this occasion calls upon you as Britons, to rescue your country from the above wretched and groveling situation; and to prevent your country from as ignominiously sinking, as France is in the contrary scale most gloriously exalting herself in the eyes of the world. It is yet in your power to start and surpass France in the race of glory and honour by adopting the means, which we recommend to you, as a plan of national perfection, infinitely superior to the present regeneration of France. You should enlighten yourselves in respect of public welfare, and fully understand the nature of national perfection; advance your country to those heights of improvement and excellence, which this holds forth; and feel a true patriotic love. Breathe the high spirit, which vindicates the rights of humanity; and claim them for your country, for your fellow creatures, for yourselves, and for your posterity. We will at any time shew proofs, that you need not regard any objections, which may be made to our propositions!

Ye Gentry of the Kingdom, and the Empire!

As the votaries of public virtue and philanthropy, and as their vicegerents, we are hazarding every risque and danger, which may follow from your displeasure; because the cause which we embrace, absolutely requires we should make the present bold address

address to you. We feel deep and sincere regret, that this task is ours; but we will in no sense flinch from it, we will throw ourselves upon your magnanimity and natural goodness of heart, to feel for us, to indulge and pardon us, and at the same time to listen with attentive ears to us, and to pay due respect to what we offer for your consideration. We therefore address you with a freedom and boldness, proportional to the great interests of society, which you, Gentlemen, are destined to support. For we complain that you wholly neglect and defer the duties of the station, which you hold in society. This highly criminal conduct is not chargeable to the account of any other stations, and is the true cause of the present state of public welfare and the national affairs. The people in general in every respect, and in the most complete manner, discharge all the respective duties of their several stations, there being so very few exceptions to this assertion, that it is not proper to mention them. Where, in what nation of the world are there farmers, workmen, manufacturers, merchants, soldiers, sailors, men of genius, a clergy, or a medical profession superior, or equal to those of Great Britain? But of what service are you, or is a gentry not destined to be of the most important service to the interests of society? Do you understand national improvement in general, as an art, or a practical science? No. Do you understand any one par-

ticular national improvement? No. Do you even understand the art of improving ground, or your estates to the greatest advantage? No. Have you any legislative abilities? No. Do you in general understand the laws of your country? No. Do you understand the interests of society? No. Do you understand politics? No. Have you that superior intelligence, which enables you in general to understand the public affairs, and puts it out of the power of hireling pamphlets, or even newspapers to prepossess your minds, and lead you as a corrupt minister pleases, and wishes you to think? No. Do you really endeavour to acquire knowledge and information on the above, and on other public subjects in general of a similar nature? No. Do you appear to have an intention of the kind? No. When you, as delegates and in other capacities, are seated in Parliament, are ye always independent, do you at all times honestly regard, and faithfully promote the interests of your country, and never sacrifice and barter these to the Crown? No.

The station you, Gentlemen! hold in society is, of all others, the most important to its interests. The public duties incumbent upon you to discharge, as the cultivators and promoters of the welfare of the community in every respect, by all the means and exertions in your power, are numerous and infinite. Your duties are to devise and accomplish all the several intentions and de-

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signs of public welfare and private happiness, that is, of national perfection ; but you neglect them in the gross, and perform none of them in any manner, that can be considered as adequate. Above we have proposed to you several queries, in regard to which you ought to be fully competent, but we have not been able to answer affirmatively for you to any one of them. Nor do we know any others, relating to national perfection, which we can propose in the proper line of your duty to your country, to which you can less exceptionably answer. But you will immediately assent to interrogatories of a contrary nature. Are ye lukewarm, inefficient patriots ; do you cede your understandings to ignorant administrations ; do ye submit in the many wars of this country, waged without the least regard to justice, to be the destroyers of your fellow creatures ; and are you the channels, through which the present inundations of taxes sweep away the competence and necessaries of life from yourselves, and alas ! from all the inferior classes ? Yes ! yes ! yes ! yes ! As in the barbarity of the times, when Alfred lived, there was not one clerk in the kingdom, who understood Latin, so in the present highly embellished and polished age of Great Britain, there is not, to speak in general, one gentleman in the kingdom, who is acquainted with the great views and the appropriated doctrines of public welfare ; although in advancing these wholly confi-

the several purposes and services of the station of the gentry in society.

The people therefore in general, who discharge the respective duties of their several stations of life with the greatest fidelity to their country, may most grievously complain of your ungenerous and unkind conduct to them ! We too may do the same, nor you be offended. As the votaries of public virtue and philanthropy, we are most materially interested to ascertain the important fact, that the neglect and malversation of the interests of society is your sole fault and blame ; because this being ascertained, you both will and can effectually redress the wrongs of society without danger, trouble, or loss of time. For, Gentlemen ! we have no doubt, from the good opinion we entertain of you, as well as of mankind in general, that you will immediately liberate yourselves from the merited asperion, as soon as you observe the justice of it, and immediately commence the work of regenerating the kingdom and the empire into national perfection. No other desideratum is wanting for accomplishing this purpose, than that you see the practicability and importance of it, and discharge your duties with fidelity to your country. You are the most interested in the introduction of this important object, and we are convinced you are the greatest sufferers from any mismanagement of public affairs. You, as a numerous body, every

where

where distributed through society, and from your education, unexceptionably qualified for the task, are able to accomplish, propagate, and complete in the most perfect manner, through the extent of society, all the several views and purposes of national perfection. The acquisition of the practical powers, necessary for the accomplishment of so important an object, is neither arduous nor tedious; and permit us to offer you a plain and simple prescription for the purpose. Grind this and our other works, and wash your eyes with them, as an eye water, and they will recover the most perfect sight. A course of them for a fortnight will give you political sagacity and wisdom; a month's perseverance in their different prescriptions will be able to form you the civilizers, legislators, and benefactors of your country, and of mankind at large.

Permit us, therefore, in future to rank you among the cultivators of public welfare, and anxiously to recommend to your consideration the address which we have lately directed to them. By pursuing the different means it recommends, you will soon become eminent in your particular station in society. More especially we wish your support should universally be extended in the efforts in favour of the private interests of society; and that a real, not a pretended respectful consideration of inferior individuals, may become the

the characteristic criterion of the conduct of the several superior stations. The sincere, grateful affection of inferiors is that sort of homage alone, which can be satisfactory, and, consistently with your interests, secure you proper consideration and influence. Popular respect, as paid to the great, is never sincere, and to be depended upon, but as it is founded on affection returned for the goodness of your hearts, and for real regard paid to humanity. As such it is necessary to your characters, to your feelings, and to your happiness, and it alone supports your station with proper lustre and dignity. Thus it may readily be acquired; and an opportunity of procuring it without seeking for it, will constantly be afforded to you in the primary establishment, and in the subsequent superintendance of national perfection through society at large.

At this time, Gentlemen ! your country most importunately requires your very earnest assistance, that you will in the most complete manner redrefs its present wretched, puerile situation, and advance its different improvements to their proper adequate heights of national perfection. Do you therefore warmly interest yourselves on so important an occasion, and cordially unite with the people, and with the cultivators of public welfare and virtue in their endeavours to set the nation to rights, and to complete all its different interests.

To-

Together do you advance national perfection by the several effectual means in your joint powers.

Inspired with the sincerest anxiety of promoting all the different interests of humanity ; despising with indignation and contempt the persons, who refuse to co-operate with you ; and only the more incited by the base opposition and the depraved corruptions, which may impede your progress, desist not, till you form society, what your God intended it should be, and render your country and mankind as great and happy as they are capable of being. This should be the sole termination of your labours, the least effort of your patriotism, your incentive of glory, and the reward of your gallantry and virtue.

Sometime ago we perceived the province of national perfection properly devolved upon the gentleman, and promised him its destined laurels : but we observed with astonishment, that he neglected to cultivate it, and to aspire after its immortal honours. What was too sure to be expected ! the consequence of his neglect we saw, was the imperfect advancement of the different interests of society. We therefore knew it would be necessary to acquaint the gentry of the kingdom with so strange an omission, and with such an unpardonable abuse of their trust in society ; and were determined to remonstrate with them upon a conduct, which can in no sense be excused,

however unexceptionable in other respects the characters of the gentlemen in this country may be; as good landlords, masters, parents or husbands; as scholars, orators, men of taste, and accomplished and acquainted with life and manners; as men of intrepid bravery, perseverance, and unremitting enterprise; and perhaps the first gentry of the world, for our animadversions, indeed, apply universally to the gentry of every country. The fairer sex of this station in life, we found, could in no sense be involved as the partners of such criminal public conduct, and we considered them in every sense, as favourable and propitious to the design of national perfection. We therefore dedicated to them, as to the patronesses of such perfection, our work on the royal regeneration of Great Britain. We considered them, as personated in our dedication to the Honourable Mrs. Damer: and she accepted the important trust, in a manner the most pleasing and flattering, so as to confer upon us and them, whose extraordinary accomplishments, whose most pleasing and amiable graces, and distinguished talents of genius and nature she so happily and appositely represents, the highest honour and obligation. The obliging condescension of Mrs. Damer's answer, in raising us to an almost equal level with her own rank and extraordinary merits, is one of the highest obligations, a great mind can confer. At the same time

it secures the most sincere respect and humility, such as could not be extorted from us by the pride of a countess, or the arrogance of female fortune, raised beyond its proper level ! The latter at least might be contented to shine with some degree of modesty, like the glow-worm of the plain, and not with too transcendent a blaze endanger the sooty collection of the culinary conduit.

LADIES !

As you in former times have always patronized great and spirited undertakings, so the establishment of national perfection, we trust, will be seconded with your warm and earnest endeavours. The attainment of human excellence is the frequent accomplishment of your sex ! Oh ! therefore you will do more than wish national perfection should be established through society ! We trust you will fervently adopt its cause, and bring it forward and enforce it with all your power and influence ! Oh ! push your associate sex from the narrow bough, to which, with the fear of nestling birds, it closely clings, in order to try and explore the wide ambient atmosphere of public welfare, and national perfection !

My Lords and Gentlemen of the present Parliament !

When an individual presents to you various and numerous different designs of great national moment and consequence ; when the present state of a society is wretched, low, and mean, in comparison

parison with what it may be rendered by the means of those designs, and is proposed to be improved by them, to the fullest powers of its capacity ! assemblies, such as yours are, my Lords and Gentlemen ! surely cannot, surely will not exclude the address of the humblest of all individuals, who lays before you the adequate means of promoting and completing the public welfare. You unquestionably should and will accommodate yourselves to the state most favourable for affording him attention. Amidst the numerous illustrious virtues, which have on all occasions distinguished the National Assembly of France, the most affable, nay, the humble condescension, with which they have listened to all individual applications, and offers of service and advice, is as pleasing and remarkable, as it is most highly exemplary.

We, the votaries of public virtue and philanthropy, therefore not only trust, that the system of national perfection, which we in this, and in our other publications present to you, will be received in a most propitious manner, and with a most gracious welcome; and not be considered as intruded upon you, or as violating the decorum, which you may wish to preserve; but that on the contrary in proceeding much farther, and in calling upon you to adopt the system, which we lay before you, and to carry the same into effect, we shall merit your thanks. The part we have taken
for

for promoting the public welfare, obliges us boldly to say aloud, it is your duty to embrace and accomplish the said system. It is your duty at present, without any address offered you from the people, to rear the standard of national perfection; to inscribe upon it these most happy and glorious words, " The voluntary and peaceful regeneration of society, and of its different interests, into national perfection :" and to urge the people, even before they are themselves excited by their own information of the importance of these words, that they second your intentions, with one general union of all their joint endeavours; and yet at the same time with a pure love and sincere respect for their king, and for all the several salutary regulations and establishments of the constitution in present use and observance. From your hands the public has a just right to expect all the different services, which you can advance in their favour, even those of the smallest nature, therefore infinitely more those of the largest magnitude. On this account, my Lords and Gentlemen, when such great services can be rendered to the nation, as we propose, and when this can be regenerated into national perfection, you should be glad to see, you should with inexpressible transports behold the inhabitants of the kingdom, observing a proper conduct, rise as one single man, in order to accomplish the mighty and important event.

To suppose that you, my Lords and Gentlemen, would oppose, obstruct, and prevent the success of their exertions on this occasion, would be the most disgraceful stigma, which defamation and ignominy itself could fix upon your characters; nor could it be the least advantage whatever to your Lordships in particular, as no deprivation of any kind of authority or privileges, which you possess, and which are useful to you, is proposed.

May it please your gracious Majesty, the monarch of Great Britain! as the votaries of public virtue and philanthropy, and hitherto as their viceroys! we have from their throne addressed the different stations of your Majesty's subjects in general, but we humbly before you descend from this exalted eminence, and perform obeisance to you, as our Sovereign. Inspired with the behests of public virtue and philanthropy, and at the same time bending before you, we humbly solicit your Majesty on their account, and on your own account, to regenerate your kingdom and your empire into national perfection. We are not afraid of offending your Majesty by this bold request, because we know such a regeneration is in every respect your Majesty's own advantage, interest, and happiness. Having fully ascertained the accomplishment of national perfection to be the most important jewel of your crown, and having already proved this in

in every instance; we have, therefore, with the most implicit confidence of not meeting with your displeasure, endeavoured to invite all your subjects to lose no time, but immediately with the most earnest and vigorous means to regenerate the kingdom, and the empire, into the most complete state of national perfection, as true and loyal subjects to you, as much as faithful citizens to the interests of their country. As such a regeneration will augment and complete the national strength and the public interests, so it will equally promote the power and advantage of the crown. It will spread that lustre and splendour over your reign, which the history of no monarch as yet can boast; and transmit to endless ages, and to unbounded time, the name of a king, who instituted the national perfection of kingdoms and of empires!

We have examined the designs, which we propose in the minutest manner, and we pledge our character and honour to you, they are not unworthy of your acceptance, that neither guile nor disadvantage to your royal interests lay masked under them, but on the contrary, that every good both private and public are included in them, which we apprehend can be agreeable to you. Extensive general improvement, and national perfection are the firmest basis, on which your throne can stand: and the times require they should be fundamentally placed beneath it at present.—And what

times are more favourable than the present, in order to fix them there, when your Majesty is so generally respected and beloved? Can there be greater need and occasion for them than at present, when public burthens are become so heavy; when wars inundate in almost continued torrents of blood upon the country; when depravity and vice leap over their extreme bounds, and pour forth more than sufficient population for new and distant colonies; when provisions and the necessaries of life have risen to so great a price, and thus make the lower classes truly miserable in most parts of your dominions? When had a monarch more worthy subjects to oblige? When was there due from a monarch greater affection than now is due from you to your subjects? In the general reforms of kingdoms, when such become absolutely necessary, can a more proper expedient for the interests of kings be devised than national perfection?

Never was government in general in a more ticklish situation than they are at present. Kings should, therefore, lose no time in shewing the world, that they are no hindrances to its advancement; and they ought by no means to oppose the national perfection of society. They should shew the world, that the existence of Sovereigns is not merely compatible with, but is an effectual means of establishing national perfection. They should with a happy grace come forward, and in a manner honour-

honourable to themselves, magnanimously offer the boon to their people, before they ask for it; nor keep back, as the amiable and patriotic Louis nearly had done, until they are compelled to comply with the measure. The banquet or feast of national perfection must ere long be in the complete possession of society; and they, who mean to be the hosts, and expect to preside at the head of the table, surely should offer the invitation, and give a hearty welcome to their guests.

In introducing national perfection into this country, the formation of a suitable administration for the purpose must be a very important object. It should be calculated to satisfy the nation in general, and to possess adequate power and ability; and at the same time be composed of persons, in whom the king would place implicit confidence, and whom the different interests of the kingdom in general would respect. Such an administration may readily be formed; and even ourselves can form a very unexceptionable one for the purpose: for it may consist of the Duke of Portland, or of Lord Rawdon, if his Grace is not friendly to the cause, at the head of the Treasury; of Mr. Fox, as secretary of the foreign department of state, and of Mr. Pitt of the home department; and of ourselves, or any other person, who will undertake the toilsome

task, as secretary of the Alfredian department of state, for promoting the different national improvements; of Lord Loughborough and Mr. Addington, as speakers of the two Houses of the Lords and Commons; of Lord Thurlow, as lord chancellor; of Lord Stormont, as president of the council; of the Duke of Norfolk, as lord-lieutenant of Ireland; of Lord Hawkesbury remaining in his present situation; of the Marquis of Lansdowne, as first lord of the admiralty; of the Earl of Fitzwilliam, as president of the Board of Control; of the Duke of Northumberland, as master of the Horse; of Mr. Sheridan in what department he pleases; of Mr. Lee, as pay-master of the forces; of Mr. Grey, as treasurer of the Navy: and to strengthen such a ministerial arrangement, different persons from the various interests in the kingdom might be admitted members of the Privy Council; as Mr. Brand Hollis on account of the Dissenters; and other respectable characters, on account of other interests. An administration like this would be very happily introduced at the present time, when administration appears to be a mere dictatorship, with Mr. Pitt at its head, and under him Lord Grenville, some unknown cypher, the Earl of Chatham, and the Duke of Montrose, as his masters of the foreign state departments, of the Admiralty, and of the horse. The administration above proposed would be a

very

very complete and valuable selection of different persons, the most suitable to introduce, and carry into effect the national perfection, while, no doubt, they would establish the adequate influence of the people in the government, and give the Crown that independence, which alone can free it from corruption, and enable it effectually to co-operate with the citizens.

May it please your Majesty !

The design of national perfection, which we lay before you, is attempted to be formed in a manner, the most consistent with the interests of your crown, and, at the same time, with the highest deference to your sovereign will and pleasure. You will find reason to believe, if you deign to examine our different proposals, that we have often, in devising the different parts of the design, almost considered ourselves, as placed in your own situation ; and have framed them accordingly. With great earnestness we have supported the interests of the executive government, in opposition to the views* of the French Revolution ; and by numerous expedients we have contrived to render the former superior, as an agency to the democratic assemblies, employed for the purpose in a neighbouring kingdom. In remodifying the executive government, we have greatly strengthened its establishment, by converting it into an effectual agency of national

improvement. And certainly we deserve your Majesty's particular notice, for endeavouring to free your Crown from the restraints of a septennial House of Commons, and of a House of Peers, invested with a perpetual power of dissenting from all public measures proposed to them.

If a form of perfect government is to be established in this country, surely a form, so valuable and important, as that, which we have proposed by means of Folkmotes, of leaving the House of Lords and your Majesty in the possession of all rights and powers, that you and they enjoy at present, ought not to subject us to censure! The hand of God appears to us from unquestionable demonstration, to interfere in the cause of public welfare through the whole world: and, while the thunder of his will and authority, as these are manifest in America, France, and Poland, and soon will visit England, which kindled his wrath and excited his interposition, causes the different governments of Europe to shake and tremble to their foundations, we have framed and presented to your Majesty a form of national perfection, which is perfectly plain and simple, sufficient to complete the interests of society, and thus to avert the Divine anger. Your Majesty will receive a report, if you order our writings to be examined, that no rancorous spleen is ever displayed in them against your person or your interests, although we have so long born upon

our distressed shoulders the great burden of forming the design of national perfection ; and although Lord Bacon has informed your Majesty, that kings should in their beginnings afford their assistance to all great designs : whereas the national perfection we have devised, has, at our own expence, and with our own misery and personal sufferings, been advanced and rendered complete. Different ministers have hitherto, we know, made it their constant rule to disregard all national improvements proposed to them. This conduct may hitherto be in some very small degree excuseable ; because, while all the different interests of society were blended in one turbid and impure mixture, the advancement of any one of them was less obvious and certain, and could not sweeten the vast pool of corruption. But the present pamphlet, we expect, like a powerful precipitate, will clear and refine the heterogeneous fluid, however deep or unbounded ; and arrange all its different parts in their proper strata, and in due proportions to one another. At the same time it will effectually enable your Majesty to observe and comprehend in one short view the advancement and natural co-operation of all the several different interests of national perfection.—By analysing a small glass of sea water, a chymist knows what different salts, and impregnations the whole ocean contains.

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